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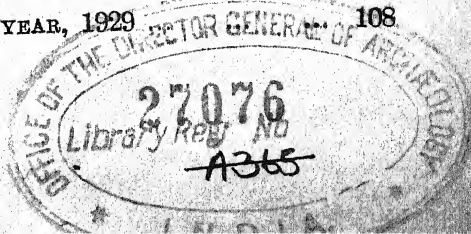
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قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان

و

بیان آتش بهرام نوساری

QISSEH-I ZARTÜSHTIÂN-I HINDÜSTÂN

VA

BAYÂN-I ÂTASH BEHRÂM-I NAOSARI.

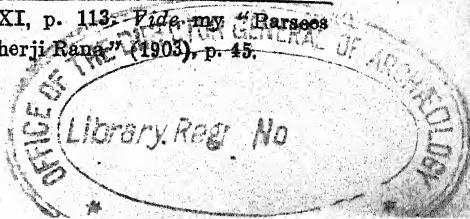
BY SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
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I

I give in this paper, the text, with notes, of the Persian treatise, known as "The Qisseh-i Zartûshtiân-i Hindûstân va Bayân-i Âtash Behrâm-i Naosari", written by Dastur Shapurji Manockji Sanjana, at the end of the eighteenth century. I also give my free version of the Persian text. As far as I know, only two MS. copies of this treatise are known. I had the pleasure of seeing both these two copies in 1901, during my study for the paper, entitled

The Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji-rana", read before the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, on 19th December 1901.¹ I will quote here what I have said there: "There are two MSS. extant of the treatise in the author's own hand. One belongs to Mr. Sorabjee Muncherjee Desai of Naosari, and the other to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library of Naosari, to which it was recently

1 Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXI, p. 113. *Vide* my "Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherji Rana" (1903), p. 45.



presented by the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana (*vide* the Catalogue of the books of Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana, presented to the Dastur Meherji Rana Library, published in 1898, p. 18, No. 7. There it is said of this MS. that શાપુરજી માણેકજી સંજાના પોતાને હાથે લખેલો, *i.e.*, it was written by Shapoorji Manockji Sanjana, by his own hand). The MS., belonging to Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai, seems to be the original rough draft of the poem, from which the Dastur seems to have latterly made the fair copy which now belongs to the Meherji Rana Library. Mr. Desai, in writing to a friend, Mr. Rustomji Bejanji Ranji, through whom he has kindly lent me the manuscript, says “ એ શાપુરજી સંજાના હાથે લખેલી અને વધી પેહેલો કરેલો ખરડોજ એ છે,” *i.e.*, “ it is written by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana’s own hand and it is the very first draft ”. On comparing the above two copies kindly lent to me, I find that they are written by the same hand. One may see a slight difference in the style of some of the letters, but such a difference one must expect on comparing a rough and a fair copy. In the fair copy belonging to the Meherji Rana Library, there are no corrections, but in Mr. Desai’s MS., we find, on almost all pages, a number of corrections, both over the lines and on the margin. This leads us to conclude that it is the original rough draft MS. of the poem. In this rough MS., between the first portion of the verses, which gives an account of the first great fire-temple of India, and the second portion, which speaks specially of the great fire-temple of Naosari, the author has written, on two pages (pp. 36 and 37), some notes in Gujarati, describing how at the request of Chāngāshā, the sacred fire of the first fire-temple was brought into Naosari. In the MS. of the fair copy, the account of the Ātashbehram (fire-temple) is preceded by the Saddar-Nazam *صد در نظم*. In both the MSS. the account is divided into two parts, which, as described on the first page of the fair MS. of the Dastur Meherji Rana Library,

are as follows:—

- (1) قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان, *i.e.* An Account of the Zoroastrians of India.
- (2) بیان آتشبهرام نوساری, *i.e.* An Account of the Fire-temple of Naosari.

“The fair MS. would, at first sight, appear to one to be incomplete, as some lines (*e.g.* ll. 58 and 69 of the second part relating to the fire-temple of Naosari, pp. 39 and 40) are incomplete. But it is not so. The author, having written the first part of a couplet, seems to have thought it better to transfer the couplet to some other place in the poem. He has done so, but has forgotten to draw his pen over the incomplete couplet to show that he had written it by mistake and had then cancelled it. For example, the incomplete couplets 58 and 69 are transferred to places which make them couplets 70 and 71 respectively.”¹

The text given here, is that from the fair MS. in the Meherji Rana Library. I beg to express my thanks to the Committee of the Library for their kindly lending it to me for publishing it. As the other copy, referred to above, is merely a rough copy of the author, it is not of much use for collation. I beg to thank the owner for having kindly lent it to me on the above first occasion.

The poem consists of two parts. The first part treats of the early settlement of the Parsees in India, and the second, of the foundation and consecration of a fire-temple at Naosari. On the page preceding the Saddar Nasr, which begins the MS., the title of the poem is given as قصه زرتشتیان هندوستان و بیان آتشبهرام نوساری. The author seems to have taken both the parts as forming one poem, because, it is at the end of the second part that he has given his genealogy.

The text is published here for the first time. Before giving the text, I will say here a few words on the nature of the subject of the treatise and its author.

1 In this printed text they are ll. 580-581.

II

The Persian writings of the Zoroastrians stand next in importance to the Avesta, Pahlavi and Pazend writings. They are on various subjects. Some are written by the learned Zoroastrians of Persia and some by those of India. Among the former are the Rivâyats, containing answers to questions on religious subjects put to the learned Dasturs of Persia, by the Dasturs and Behedins of India. Besides these Rivâyats, there are treatises on various subjects, such as the following¹ :—

1. Ulemâ-i Islâm.²
2. Zand-i Vohuman Yasht.³
3. Statements of Prophecy.⁴
4. Ahkâm-i Jamasp.⁵
5. Vaf-i Ameshaspandân.⁶
6. Mâr-nameh.⁷
7. Kisseh-i Sultan Mahmud Giznavi (998-1030 A.C.).⁸
8. Kisseh-i Afrâsiâb bin Pashang.⁹
9. Dâstân-i Mazdak va Shah Naushirvân Adal.¹⁰
10. Hadis-i Farrokh-nameh-i Yunân Dastûr ba Naushirvan.¹¹
11. Hekâyat-i Shah-zadeh Irân Zamin ba Omar Khatab.¹²

1 *Vide* my introduction to the late Mr. Manockji Rustamji Unwala's Rivâyât of Darab Hormazdyar, pp. 69-70.

2 *Vide* for its text "Fragments relatifs a la Religion de Zoroastre" (1829) by M. Olshausen de Kiel, pp. 1-10. *Vide* M. R. Unwala's Rivâyât of Darab Hormazdyar, Vol. II, pp. 72-80. For some further particulars about this treatise, *vide* my Introduction to Unwala's above Rivâyât, pp. 10-11.

3 Unwala's Rivâyât II, pp. 86-97.

4 *Ibid.* pp. 97-101.

5 *Ibid.* pp. 101-109. *Vide* my "Pahlavi Translation, Jamaspi" (1903), pp. 80-91.

6 *Ibid.* pp. 164-192.

7 *Ibid.* p. 192. *Vide* my "Anthropological Papers", Part I, pp. 34-42.

8 *Ibid.* pp. 194-99.

9 *Ibid.* pp. 210-13.

10 *Ibid.* pp. 214-230. 11 *Ibid.* pp. 232-240. 12 *Ibid.* 242-258.

12. Fragments of Minokherat.¹
13. Hekâyat-i Khâdam bâ pâdshah.²
14. The story of a King who renounced the world.³
15. The story of a Darwish and a piece of Bread.⁴
16. The Ardai Virâf-nameh.⁵
17. Dadâr bin Dâdokht.⁶
18. Zarthusht-nameh.

Coming to the writings of the Indian writers, we find the following:—

1. The compilations of the Rivâyats by Hormazd-yar Framroz, Darab Hormazdyar and Barzo Kamdin.
2. The Kisseh-i Sanjan.⁷
3. The Farziât-nameh of Dastur Darab Pahlân.⁸
4. The Kholaseh-i Din of Dastur Darab Pahlân.

The Dasturs of India have written, besides these, a number of Monajâts (مناجات) or prayers.⁹ The most remarkable of the Persian writings of the Indian Dasturs is the George-nameh (جارجنامه) by Dastur Mulla Feroze.¹⁰ It gives, in good verse in three volumes, an account of British

1 *Ibid.* pp. 259-266. 2 *Ibid.* pp. 313-318. 3 *Ibid.* pp. 318-329.

4 *Ibid.* p. 328. 5 *Ibid.* pp. 331-342.

6 This treatise is translated in Gujarati by Ervad Dadabhai Bharucha of Broach.

7 For the Text, *vide* The Kisseh-i Sanjan by Mr. Rustam B. Paymaster. For Translation, *vide* E. B. Eastwick's "Zartusht-nameh," R. B. Paymaster's "श्रीरसे संनन.", Shapurji H. Hodivala's "Studies in Parsee History."

8 *Vide* for the text and version of this and the next treatise my "Farziât-nameh of Dastur Darab Pahlân."

9 *Vide* Mr. Mehargibhoy N. Kuka's "नियायरी अर्द्धमञ्जरी अने शीरसी मोनान्तो."

10 The George-nameh of Mulla Feruz bin Kâvus, the Head Priest of the Parsi Kadmis of Bombay.

rule in India, especially of the reign of King George IV of England. It was written under the patronage of the then Governor of Bombay.

The present treatise forms one of such writings of the Indian Dasturs. For the events referred to in the Qisseh, the Qisseh-i Sanjan is an older authority. Our author follows it in his language also, in several places. For a fuller account of the events, as mentioned in the Qisseh-i Sanjan, one may read with advantage my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees".

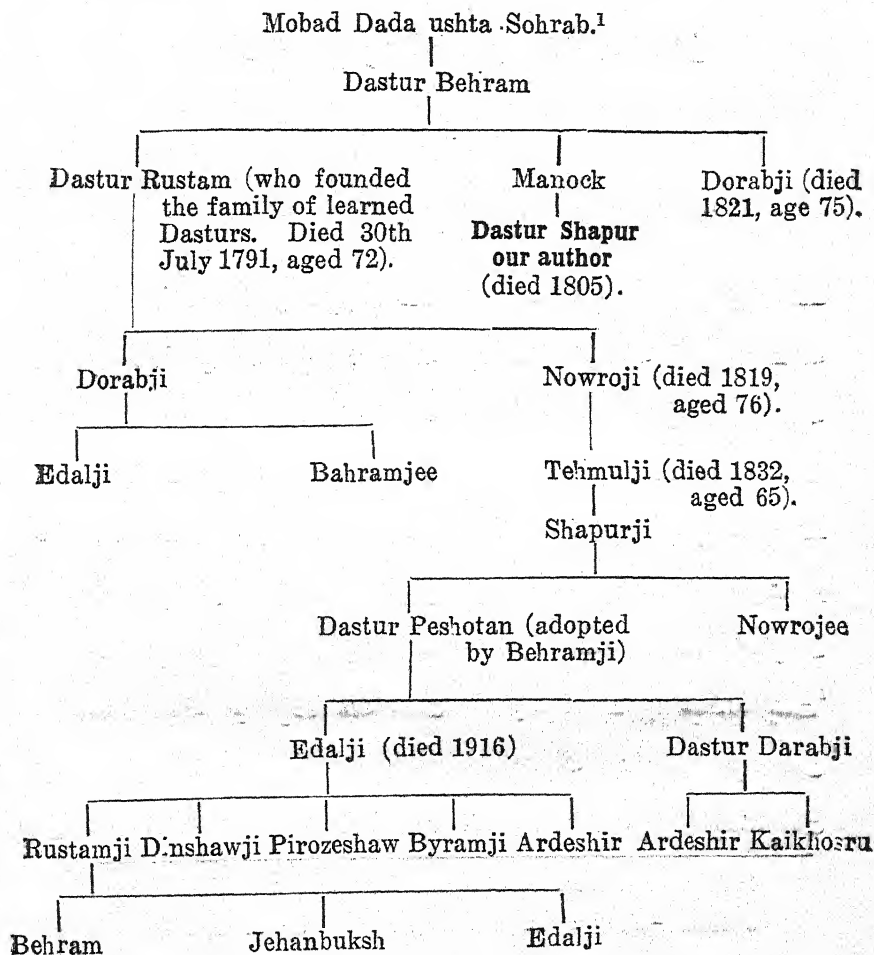
The author, Dastur Shapurji Sanjana, was born in 1735 and died in 1805, aged 70. He

The Author. belonged to a learned family, which has given several learned priests to the Parsee communities of Surat and Bombay. The founder of his family was Dastur Rustamji Byramji, who died on 30th July 1791 at the age of 71. The family, at first, lived at Naosari. But it was the grandfather of the founder of the family, Darab Sohrab, who first migrated to Surat, in order to be free from the troubles arising from the frequent inroads of the Pindarees, who now and then plundered Naosari. Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Dastur Darabji Peshotani Sanjana thus carries the ancestry of the founder of the family upwards to Neryosang Dhaval, from whom many priestly families of Naosari trace their descent:—

Dastur Rustam—Dastur Behram—Mobad Dada—ushta Sohrab—Mobad Maneck—Mobad Peshotan—ushta Jiva—Mobad Shaher—Dastur Chanda—Dastur Ashdin—Dastur Mahiyar—Dastur Faridun—Dastur Hom—Mobad Bahman—Mobad Khorshed—Dastur Behmanyar—Dastur Khojesta—Dastur Khushmasta—Dastur Nairyosang—Mobad Dahyopat (Dhaval).¹

¹ The second edition of the Cherag-e Danesh (ચેરાગે દાનેશ), attached to his Pahlavi Dīnā-i Maīnū-i Kharat, page ૬.

The descending genealogy of the family upto the present generation, as prepared by me from the *Parsee Prakash* and other sources, stands as follows:--



1 He first shifted from Naoşari to Surat.

III

THE TEXT

قصه زرتشتیان هندستان

و

بیان آتش بهرام نوساری

بنام آن خدای داور پاک که پیدا کرد بر ما بستر خاک
 ز جود¹ او همه موجود گشته ز لطف او همه مشهور گشته
 خدای کو یگانه بی بهانه همه هست نیست او هست جاودانه
 منزله² دانش از پستی و بالا ازو اظهار شد لولوی لالا
 همه عالم ازو امید دارند که نیکانرا بمینو میسپارند 5
 که نامش اورمزد و پاک و مینو فرشته حاضر اند در قربت او
 خدا آنرا بخوان هر روز و هر شب که دارد نیک را هر لحظه خوش لب
 خداوندیکه او کرده همه هست خداوندیکه بد را میکند پست³
 خداوندیکه عقلش دور بین است خداوندیکه مشکل را کلید است
 خداوندیکه نور او اچند⁴ است خداوندیکه ویر⁵ او پسند است 10

1 Joud = munificence. 2 Munazzah = pure; blameless; holy.

3 Lulu-i-lâlâ = incomparable gem; lit. a pearl of tulip.

4 Lahza = a glance; moment. 5 Past = low; destroyed.

6 There is no word in Persian as 'a-chand' so it seems to be 'a', negative and chand "any indefinite quality," meaning 'unlimited.' 7 Wir = mind.

خداوندیکه میخواهد فرارون که از بنده نمیخواهد آوارون
 زهی¹ قادر ز قدرت کرد پیدا همه کنبا² و توانایان هویدا
 که بر فرش تراب³ این صنعت⁴ او به بین ای مرد نیکو پاک و آشو⁵
 خداوندیکه راد و پشیدار⁶ کریم و مهربان و راست گفتار
 15 اهو⁷ دانا که پیدا کرد گهنبار بهر یک سال شش آیند اظهار
 از ان ترتیب عالم کرد پیدا گنامینو شده زین دام ویدا⁸
 بگهنبار نخستین آسمانها بکرده آنخدای روح و جانها
 بوستا⁹ گویدش میدیوزرم نام بخوانی تابدانی ای نیکو کام
 دویم گهنبار میدیوشهم نامش درین گاه آب داده او تماش
 20 سیوم گهنبار یتشهم خوانی زمین مرتب شده زین که تامی
 چهارم گاه باشد ایانرم نام همه اورور شده ظاهر درین بام
 به پنجم که اهو از نیک آهین بکرده گوسفندی¹⁰ پنج آهین
 بوستا نام میدیاریم خوانی شده مرتب همه کینا¹¹ تامی

1 Zahi = how good ! 2 This word is not intelligible. The meaning seems to be "all his.....and powers (from tavānā) are clear or known. The word may be Arab. 'kamb' i.e. collecting in the sense of strength.

3 Turāb = moist with water; flowing; elegant.

4 San'at = art. 5 Asho = holy. 6 The word seems to be a Pers. adaptation from P. بوزش, pardon; pardoner.

7 Ahu = Lord. 8 Widā = lost. 9 Ba vasta (Avesta).

10 𐬱𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 panj ātīnak of Bundehsh XIV, Heading. N.P. پنج آئین panj ātīn. Cf. gōspendān panj ātīn of the Afrin-i Gāhambār, 28.

11 Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥 traditionally read kinā, sheep.

همسپتمیدئیم گهنبار ششم برهنیده دران که جمله مردم
 25 چون در يك سال پیدا کرد دنیا درین شش که بکرده جمله پیدا
 درین دنیا بمردم سروری داد که داند در دل خود داد و بیداد
 هراں چیزی خدا کردست ظاهر شده مردم ازان مندوم¹ ماهر²
 خدا این آفرید و کرد پیدا درین ره هوش سرگردان و ویدا
 خداوندیکه دین مزدیسنان بداده آن بزرتشت سفتیمان
 30 بقدرت آفریده پوروشسپ را که از پشتش شده زرتشت پیدا
 شده در وقت زادن خنده روئیش همه دیوان شده زان زرد روئیش
 عجب مانده همه مردم در انجا ازان خنده و فر³ و روی آرا
 همه دیوان و شیطان فکر بردند بران نیکو منش افسون بکردند
 نشد افسون اثر بر نیک زرتشت خدای کو⁴ بدش هم یار و هم پشت
 35 همه شرمنده شد جادو دیوان شده خوار و پریشان و غریوان⁵
 چو شد سی سال عمر آن زراثشت همه ملعون⁶ و دیوان را شکست پشت
 بحکم آن خدای پاک دادار بیامد بهمین⁷ از مینو سزاوار
 بزرتشت گزین گفتا بیا هین⁸ نایم من مینو گاه زرین
 برده آن زراثشت نیکوکار بنزدیک خدای پاک دادار
 40 بقدر⁹ خود خازش برد زرتشت که ای دادار داور یاور و پشت
 همین گونه بنزدیک خداوند برسیده زراثشت نیکو پند

1 Pahl. e'se thing. 2 Mahir = expert.

3 Farr = glory; dignity. 4 Ghirewan = one who laments.

5 Mal'an = cursed. 6 Hin = lo ! behold ! make haste!

7 Qadr = dignity.

بهانده نزد حق ده سال آن راد همه دید و شنید آن سود بنیاد
 همه راز نهانش آشکارا بکرده آن خدای با مدارا¹
 همه زند و اوستا را بیاموخت بکرده یاد آن نیکو زراثشت
 45 همه جای بهشت و دوزخ تار بدیده دید آن زرتشت دیندار
 شده واقف زمینوی روانها از ان استارگان² و آسمانها
 پس آنکه حکم کرده آن خداوند بزرشت گزین و نیک پیوند
 پذیر از من تو دین مزدیسنان روا کن در جهان استمندان³
 پس آنکه بیست و یک نسک زوستا بداده آن خدای پاک و یکتا
 50 دگر داده مرا او را روشن آتش که بی هیزم بسوزد دایم او خوش
 سیوم داده نهال سرو کشمیر همین سه چیز را پذیرفت با ویر⁴
 یکی تخت مرصع⁵ داد و روشن بران بنشست زرتشت نیکو تن
 مرا آن سه چیز بر تختش نهاده فرشته چون بنزدش ایستاده
 مرا آن تخت مرصع را بر افراشت بدوش خود نهاده بر زمین داشت
 55 چو آمد در جهان زرتشت پیغمبر⁶ بخوانده از زبان خویش آهنور
 ازان آهنور شده ملعون پر غم که اهریمن ابا دیوان شده گم
 همه کالوی⁷ دیوان را شکسته ز برکات اوستا غرق گشته
 پس آنکه آن بدرگاه شهنشا⁸ بیامد چون زراثشت پر آگاه
 دعا کردش ابر شاه نیکو نام بیادا توبه نیرومند چون سام

1 Mudârâ = humility. 2 Istarah = a atar.

3 Pahl. = ^{ast} ^{homand} ^{corporeal}.

4 Vir = intellect. 5 Murassa = set with jewels.

6 The word should be ^{پیامبر} or ^{پیغمبر}. 7 Kâlu, body. Same as kâlbûd. 8 Miswritten for ^{شهنشا}.

60 بیاشی در جهان ای شاه گشتاسپ بدانای و حکمت همچو جاماسپ
 چو کیخسرو انهوش¹ مادام بنور و ورج² و خوره همچو جم نام
 بدینگونه بوستا بس دعا کرد که شه گشتاسپ را خود آشنا کرد
 بدیده دید شاهنشاه گشتاسپ نشسته بود آنجا پیر جاماسپ
 ورا گشتاسپ پرسیدش که تو کیست فرشته هست یا مردم بگو چیست
 65 جوابش داد هستم من پیغمبر فرستاده خدایم من با یدر³
 که دین مزدیسنی را هویدا کنم نزدیک تو ای شاه پیدا
 باول گفت ای شاه نیکو بخش یکی گنبد بساز از بهر آتش
 مرا از مینو دادست آن خداوند نشان در کنید آذر همانند
 دگر گفت ای شهنشه نیک⁴ آیین نهال سرو آوردم نیکو بین
 70 چو این در ارض⁵ بنشانی تو ظاهر به بین این معجزه باشی تو ماهر
 دگر آورده ام من بیست و یک نسک بخوان از خواهش خود این نکونسک
 چو بشنیده شه وشتاسپ این راز دعا کردش بزرگشت نیکو باز
 پس آنکه حکم کرده آن شهنشاه بسازید گنبدی در پیش درگاه
 در آن گنبد نگارند خوب تصویر چو شه جمشید و کیخسرو و نیکو ویر
 75 نگاریده بسان بهشت نقاش همه شاهان پیشین را نمود فاش⁶
 شده گنبد مرتب خوب و رنگین نشانیده در آنجا آتش این
 که آورده بد آن نیکو پیغمبر ز نزدیک خدای پاک و برتر

1 Avesta 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, Pahl. 𐭮𐭲𐭮 deathless. The final 𐭮 is for "thee". 2 Werj=pomp; dignity.

3 Ba یدر = i.e. here, hereto. 4 Nlk-Āyin = good-natured.

5 Arz = earth; ground. 6 Fash = clear.

بزرگان و امیران شد پرستار شده از خوره¹ آتش خبردار
 شدند از ورج آتش جمله بیغم زریر و² نستهن³ لهراسپ خرم
 80 نهال سرو را چو بر دیگر جا نشانیده برای معجزش را
 همون ساعت شده برگش بدیدار بحکم آن خدای پاك دادار
 نبشته⁴ بد بیرکش کای شهنشاه پذیر این دین به راشو پر آگاه
 چو شه وشتاسپ این برهان⁵ دیده یقین بر دین به خود آوریده
 پس آنکه بیست و يك نك زوستا بخوانده پیش شه زرتشت دانا
 85 هویدا شد به ایران دین ایزدان که آورده زراشت سفتیان
 همه برنا و پیران از دل و جان شده خواهان بدین مزد یسنان
 چو چندین سال دین به روا بود زمانه دور اسکندر چو بنمود
 گرفت آن پادشاهی شاه مکار⁶ شده اهریمن و دیوش مددگار
 بسی ظلم و ستم کرده⁷ بعالم بهان⁸ را خوار کرد آن شاه ظالم
 90 هران دین بهی را خواستندی بران ظلم و ستم افراشتندی
 بسی ظلم و ستم بر مرد دیندار بکرده آن شه ناپاك و بدکار
 که شان ظلم و ستم کرده بدیسان نکرده⁹ بد کسی شاهان بگیهان
 چو سید سال دورش اینچنین راند زبیدادش نه وهان¹⁰ در جهان ماند
 پس آنکه آن خدای نيك دادار بکرده رحم بر مردان دیندار

1 Among the heroes of the Court of Gushtâsp, we have no hero of the name of Nasthan. But there is one Nâstûr, misread (from Bastur). Vide my Aiyadgari Zariran, etc. pp. 87-49, 65.

2 Burhân = proof. 3 Makkar = knave, swindler.

4 Behân = good men. 5 Vehân = good men.

95 یکی شه را بکرده آن هویدا شهنشه اردشیرش نام پیدا
 شده بر هفت کشور پادشاهی خداوندا بدارش در پناهی
 ز عدلش یافت آرام این جهان باز بر آسودند ملک از کین و پرداز¹
 بدورش² رفت چو اردای ویراف بنزدیک خدای با دل صاف
 همه این قصه ویراف خوشنام بگفته است زرتشت ابن بهرام
 100 تو گرچه قصه ویراف خوانی همه شایست و ناشایست بدانی
 بشو هوشیار ای شاپور درینکام که یابی جنت الماوا³ بارام
 شده جاری چو دین مزدیسنان که تا شاهی آخر یزدگردان
 چون رفته شاه یزدگرد ازین بام⁴ نهانده دین به را زینت و نام
 که رفت از یزدگرد شه پادشاهی گرفته تخت جد دین از تباهی
 105 ازان مدت⁵ خرابی شد به ایران دریغ آن دین و ملک افتاده ویران
 دران ایام هر کس شد پراگند هران کو داشت دل بزند و پازند
 همه دستور و بهدین گشت ویران برای دین نهان گشتند چندان
 چو دستوران بهدینان بیکبار فکر کردند و رفتند آن نکوکار
 ز ترس و بیم جد دینان نهان ماند که تا صد سال در کوهستان ماند
 110 درانجا هم رسیده ظلم جد دین شدند اندیشه مند دانای بهدین
 و زانپس آن همه دانا بیکبار بسوی شهر هرز شد طلبگار
 در آنجا که بمانده ده و پنج سال ز ظلم بدتران گشتند بی حال

1 Pardâz = robbery; from pardâkhtan = to seize; rob.

2 Ba-daurash = in his time.

3 Jinnat-ul-mâva, the mansion of paradise.

4 Bâm = roof; home, i.e. world.

5 Muddat = space of time.

میان شاف یکی دانای دستور همیشه در منجم بود مشهور
 ز علم¹ رمل وز هندسه² نیز توانا بود بر هر علم و هر چیز
 115 بدیده در رمل آن پاک بینا که مارا رفته باید چون ازینجا
 وگر مانیم همه افسیم در دام شود زیر و زبر کار شما خام
 پس آن خوشتر بود از جور دورند بیاید رفت ما را بر سر هند
 ز بهر دین همه بگریخت زانجا بسوی هند رفته بهر ما و³
 بدریا زورق⁴ و کیشی بسی بود همون وقت بادبان⁵ را باز بکشد
 120 چو کیشی بر کنار شط⁶ بیاوند زن و فرزند را بروی نشاندند
 چنان اسباب و توشه بروی بردند همه بهدین ورا پر بار کردند
 روانه کرد کیشی را بدریا همه موبد نشستند بروی یکجا
 چو کیشی تیزتر رفتند بر آب همه کس خوش شده خفتند در خواب
 که نا که باد طوفان چون وزیده همه کیشی و ذورق در کشیده
 125 همه دانا ز آفت گشت پر بیم شده پر هول و دل در گشت دو⁷ نیم
 بدرگاه خدا کردند زاری بپا ایستاد و بردند خواستاری
 برس ای دادگر بر یاری⁸ ما رها⁹ ما را ازین پر بیم ما و⁸
 توی آگه که مایان یکسانیم⁹ ازین طوفان وارون¹⁰ و ا رهانیم¹¹

1 Ramal, sand. Then, the art of prognosticating from lines in the sand. The text has a redundant و vaw after the word, added by mistake.

2 Handasa = arithmetic, calculations, i.e. astronomical or astrological calculations. 3 Behr-i-Māva = for refuge.

4 Zauraq = boat. 5 Bādbān = sails. 6 Shatt = the bank of a river. 7 Became distressed. Lit. the heart was divided into two. 8 Mawa = abode, i.e. condition.

9 Bî-kas = helpless, lit. without any body.

10 Wārūn = unfortunate. 11 Wā-rehānidan = to deliver.

برس یاری توای دادار ایزدان رهای بخش ازین ماوای طوفان
 130 ازین طوفان رهای ما بیا بیم بسوی شهر هندوستان شتایم
 ورهرام آتش آنجا که نشانیم ازین سختی و طوفان باز مانیم
 پذیرفتیم اینکار از دل و جان مراد مان رسان ای پاک ایزدان
 زئیمن¹ آتش بهرام مینو ازان سختی همه گشتند خوشرو
 قبول افتاد نزد حق مناجات بر آورده مراد و جمله حاجات
 135 یکی باد صبا² بس خوش وزیده همه باد مخالف زو ریمیده
 چون ملاحان³ بنام پاک دادار ستایش کرد بر کرکر⁴ ز گفتار
 همه دستور و بهدین چون بیکبار بکرده کستی از هم راست کردار
 دعا خوان گشته بر نزد خداوند از آنجا تیز کیشتها برفتند
 چو کیشتیان کشیده کیشتها را نخست در دیپ آمد بی خیارا⁵
 140 همه مردم بشهر دیپ رفتند بشوق⁶ دل در آنجا جا گرفتند
 دران کشور بیانده نوز ده سال یکی روز موبد دانا زده فال
 نگاه کرده برمل موبد پاک همانکه گفت با دانای بی باک
 ازینجا جای دگر ما گزینیم دران ماوا⁷ بصد شادی نشینیم
 ازین گفتار گشته جمله خشنود سوی کجرات هرکس داشت مقصود
 145 که ملاحان چو کیشتی ساز کرده بذورق بادبان آغاز کرده

1 Yamn = good fortune. 2 Sabā = gentle breeze.

3 Mallāhān = seamen. 4 Karkar = God.

5 The meaning is not clear. Perhaps the word is from Pahl. 𐭮𐭲𐭭𐭩 khaya, life, vitality. Ar. حیّت

6 Shauq = pleasure, desire.

7 Māwā = abode; asylum.

لزانجا تیزتر¹ کیشتی کشیده بسوی کشور سنجان رسیده
 بسنجان رای نیکو سروری بود مر او را نام جادی ران²ه بود
 بسی عقل و فراست بود با او سخی و راست گفتار و نیکو خو
 رعیت پرور و نیکو جمالی³ ز سختی دور بود آن خوش خصالی⁴
 همه دستور و بهدین چون بسنجان فرود آمد ز سختی گشته خوشبختان 150
 ابا تحفه⁵ و نزل⁶ه بيشهارات برفت دستور پیش رای رایان
 دعا کرده برای نیک فرجام بده در کشور خود جای آرام
 غریبانیم و مسکین ای نیکو رای درین کشور بده مارا تو ماوای
 ز بهر دین شده مایان پراگند شنیدستم که رای هست در هند
 غریبان را توازش میکند او رعایا⁷ را بدارد جمله نیکو⁸
 155 که این اخبار مایان چو شنیدیم بسی خوشدل شده اینجا رسیدیم
 از آن در کشور تو آمدستیم بامیدت که از جددین برستیم⁹
 چو این گفتار بشنیده نیکو رای شده خرسند و خرم آن بیجوجی
 نظر افکند بر دستور دانا سراپا دید او را از توانا¹⁰
 160 نامل کرد و در دل گشت پر بیم ز بهر تاج و تخت خود شده نیم¹⁰
 چو دیدش قد و صورت را بترسید بدل پژمرده گشت و باز پرسید

1 More rapidly. 2 Jamali = amiable. 3 Khisali = good-mannered. 4 Tubfa = excellent gift. 5 Nuzl = gift.

6 Raia = subjects. 7 We read, on the margin across couplets 145 to 158, the following note in Gujarati: શવદ ૭૭૨ માં સરાવન વદ ૯ ને શુદ્ધે શનિમણિમાં આચોઆ હતી.

8 From رستن to be liberated. 9 Tawau = able.

10 Nim = half i.e. half dead with fright.

نخست دین شما بینم درینجا وزانپس من دهم ماوای و ملجا¹
 جوابش داد آت دانای دستور به بین دین بهی ای رای مسرور²
 درین ملک مشو رنجیده از ما بدی هرگر نیاید از من اینجا
 همه کس ما شما را یار باشیم زهر سو دشمنت را تیغ باشیم 165
 بدان ای رای ما یزدان پرستیم زدروندان³ بلطف تو برستیم
 غریب و بیکسانیم⁴ ای نیکو کام ز نسل پاک شه جشید خوشنام
 که همواره خور و ماه را پرستیم دگر گاوان و آب و آتشان هم
 هران نعمت که در گیتی پدید است نمازش میکنم از خود که دید است
 دگر هر رسم و راه دین زرتشت بجادی رانه گفت آن نیک خوشمت⁵ 170
 چو بشنیده همه این رای رایان بدان دستور گفت ای نیک⁶ جایان
 نظر در شهر من کن ای نیکو نام پسندت این زمین آید بآرام
 که دستوران و بهدینان بیکبار پسندیدند ارض را بناچار
 چون موبدان و بهدینان زمین دید خوشی گشتند همه از جان پسندید

1 Malja = place of refuge. 2 Masrur = happy.

3 Av. dravant = Here used for the Arabs from whom they had to flee. 4 Bi-kasān, helpless.

5 Perhaps miswritten for hashamat, pcmp, magnificence. If taken to be khushmat, mat means syrup; so the word may mean pleasant, sweet-natured.

6 Perhaps from jāh = dignity; nek-jāyān = man of good position, or perhaps from zādan to be born, i.e. of good birth. The Parsees use words like mae jāyo માયે જાયો, i.e. mother-born for 'brother'.

- 175 مراو را نام سنجان گفت دستور بسان ملک ایران ساخت پر نور
 همه دستور و بهدین ازدل و جان شده مسکن¹ در اینجا شاد و خندان
 چه خوش جا بودای مردان بهدین نبوده مثل او در هند همچین
 ازان روزش نهاده نام سنجان شده معروف ازان ایام سنجان
 بماندند آن همه با شادی و ناز ز جان و دل همه گشتند همراز
 180 همه مردان دین رفتند یکی روز بنزد جادی رانه با دل سوز
 ورا دستور دانا گفت ای رای شهرت داد مارا جای و ماوای
 همیخواهیم کنون در کشور تو که سازیم آتش بهرام مینو
 رضای تو شود گر در چنین کار کنیم اینکار را از لطف دادار
 همگه رای رخصت داده آنرا هرا بجای پسند آید شما را
 185 بسی خشنود هستم من ازینکار مراد² نان رساند پاک دادار
 پس آنکه آن ردان و موبدان هم یکی ماوای بگزیده در اندم
 در اینجا کار آتش ساز کرده همه ارویسگاه³ آغاز کرده
 بدانجا موبد دانا یزشخوان⁴ شدند جمله ز لطف پاک یزدان
 که جمله کار خانهای بهدین فتاده بد بدست مرد جددین
 190 دو موبد را ز هندوستان فرستاد بسرحد ولایت رفت آن راد⁵

1 Maskan = dwelling, habitation.

2 Murâi-i-tân = your desire.

3 Urviçgah = another synonym for Yazashna-gah. *Vide my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees*, pp. 262-64.

4 Yazash-Khvan = reciters of Yazashna.

5 On the page beginning with this couplet, we read on the margin: "शत ७७७ मां राज ६ माहा ६ आतश मेहरम तभततशीन कोषा हता."

همه آلات آوردند از انجا بنزدیک ردان و موبدان ها
 عمل¹ کردند بآن آلات دستور که آورده بُد از ایران پُر نور
 چو از شهر خراسان همچنین ساز که آوردند آن یاران بخود باز
 برسم دین زرتشت سقتمان بکرده کار آتش نیک مردان
 195 شده مرتب نیکو آتش وره رام نشانیده ورا دستور خوشنام
 در انجاگاه همه دستور و بهدین یکی جشن بسازیده نیکو دین
 بدینان سال سیصد شد بسنجاف ازان چند مردمان از حکم یزدان
 پراگنده شدند چو با زن خویش بملک هند هر جانب کم و بیش
 ببانکانیر بعضی کس برفتند کسان در جانب پهروچ بتفتند
 200 کسان در شهر اوکلیسر روانشد کسان در بلد کنبایت دوانشد
 کسان در شهر نوساری بخوشروی ابارخت آمدند جمله نیکو خوي
 همه مردم برفتند بهر آرام بهر جا که رسیدند مانده ما دام
 مانده جای خود کرده چو هر کس نبوده خوف شان را چو از انپس
 یکی روز آن همه دامای سنجان جمع گشتند و بستند عهد² از جان
 205 کنیم تقسیم مایان این همه جای که هر جا هست بهدینان خوشرای

1 On the left margin of the page, beginning with this couplet
 192 and ending with the couplet 203, we find the above
 note written cross-wise in Gujarati: "શવત ૧૭૭૨ માં
 રેણ ૬ મા. ૬ આતશિરોમ તપતનશીન કીધાં હતા." Couplet
 192 was written in our Ms. by mistake as couplet 190,
 but, though retained in its wrong place, it is cancelled
 by placing ///// such cancelling-marks over the line.

2 Ahd = covenant, treaty.

همه جا را بکرده پنج تقسیم نخست سنجان که سرحدش بدان هیم¹
 که حد او بود ای مرد خوشطور ز رود یار تا آب رود دنتور
 همه بهدین که چون در حد سنجان بحکم موبدان باشند با جان
 دگر تقسیم نوساری همیدان بداده موبدان را از دل و جان
 210 ز رود یار تا آب رود بریاو همه نوساریان را اندران تاو²
 مجال³ کس نباشد اندرینجا همه در حد خود سازند ملجا⁴
 گو کوداره بدان تقسیم سیوم ژ بریاو تا اوکلیسرای نیکو بوم⁵
 کنند آنجا همه کوداریان کار بجان و دل همه موبد شوند یار
 تو تقسیم چهارم ای نیکو دان بدان بهروچ که گویم حد و پیمان
 215 ز اوکلیسر که تا کنبایت دانی همه سرحد بهروچیان بدانی
 و دان تقسیم پنجم ای نیکو مرد بگویم تا شود معلوم ای رد
 که کنبایت بگفته مرد دانا بدینسان کرد قسمت شهر و ماوا⁶
 همه دانای سنجان اینچنین کار بکرده تا نباشد کین و ییکار
 چنان هر شهر و جارا کرده تقسیم همه موبد شده دل شاد و بی بیم
 220 که جای یکدگر دخلی نسازیم همه بر جای خود بگرفته نازیم
 برین ترتیب نوشته کرد هر یک بجای خود بیامد موبد نیک
 همه موبد درون شهر سنجان بدینسان کرده با هم قول و پیمان
 پس آنکه موبدان هر جائی رفتند بشوق جان و دل ماوا گرفتند

1 Haim=turning the face towards i.e. direction, side.

2 Tāv = power. 3 Majāl = power. 4 Maljā = security,
resting place

5 Bām = nature, disposition. 6 Māwā = place of resort.

ز بعد چند سال آن ملک سنجان کرو¹ گشته بدست شه فرنگان
 225 روا نگشته بسنجان دوران شاه بترسیدند همه دانای خوشراه
 بنوساری نوشت يك نامه اینان بسی تنگیست² بر ما ای غریزان
 لهذا³ ما بخواهیم از شما بیان ده⁴ بلسار بدهند نيك رایان
 چو دانایان نوساری ازینکار شنودند و جمع گشتند یکبار
 همه قوم بهگریه⁵ ده بلسار بسنجانان سپرد و گشت درکار
 230 چو هر کس یافته آرام هرجای⁶ بناها ساخته شاف کرد ماوای
 از افس چو گذشته آن دو صد سال بشادی بگذرانیدند و خوشحال
 در انوقت اندرون شهر سنجان زموبدان بماندند خانه چندان
 بدینسان سال هفتصد یزد جردی گذشته بود بدان ای نيك مردی
 که ناگه بروهان آمد جهان تنگ قضای آسمانی کرد آهنگ
 235 يکا يك شد خبر با رای خوشنام که در هند آمده مردان اسلام
 چو بشنید این خبر را جای سنجان بغم افتاد و دل در گشت ویران
 یکی شاه پدید آمد ابا ساز درون هند آمد کرده بس ناز
 و را سلطان محمود خواندندی رعایا در خوشی بس ماندندی
 و را معلوم گشته بعد چند سال سوی سنجان یکی رایست خوشحال
 24 وزیر را بگفت آتشی یکی روز الفخان نام دان ای مرد بهروز

1 Girav gashta = being pawned, deposited, pledged. Guj.
 ۱[۲۹].

2 Tangi ast = There is hardship. 3 Lihâzâ = therefore.

4 Deh = village. 5 Bhagarieh.

6 Banâ = foundation.

و را گفت سوی سنجان شو ابا ساز ببر لشکر ازینجا تو بکن¹ ناو
 بکن جنگ و جدل² با لشکر رای بگیر آن ملک را از دست راجای³
 بحکم شه الفغان نگون بخت بیرون آمد ابا لشکر ابا رخت
 از اینجا که همه لشکر کشیده برای جنگ سنجان چون رسیده
 خبر گشته ابا راجای سنجان که آمد لشکر اسلام چندان
 که آمد سی⁴ هزار آن مرد جنگی بسنجان کرده است بر راه ننگی
 ازین اخبار گشته رای مدحوش⁵ ز بعد چند ساعت گشت باهوش
 همو وقت خوانده مردان دین را همه بهدین و موبد شد ابر پا
 همه را گفت ای دانا و کریز⁶ ز بهر تان که من گشتم عاجز
 250 که آبابم شما را جای داده بشهر خود همه کس را نهاده
 درین وقت کار مشکل آدم لیک⁷ بهمراهی ما باشید یک یک
 که احسان نیا گانم به بینید ز بهر جنگ دشمن تیغ بندید
 همه یک دل شده یاسخ بداده مکن اندیشه بس ای رایزاده
 که مایان ما که در تن جان بداریم ز آهنگ عدو رو پس نیاریم
 255 چنان از جنگ دشمن ما نیازیم⁸ همه بد خواه را ویران بسازیم

1 Make a show of army. Lit. make blandishments.

2 Rājā = king.

3 Madhush = amazed, thunderstruck. If read with a nukta below, it may be bad-hush; or the word may have been mis-written for bi-hush, fainted.

4 Guriz "The leader of an army," i.e. brave.

5 Another form of Arab. lākin; but, notwithstanding.

6 Bākhšan, to lose at play; khāshāshā bākhšan, to betray oneself, to lose countenance.

چو این گفتار بشنید آن نیکو رای همه را خواص خلعت دادو¹ ماوای
 دران ایام چندان بود بهدین شمرند و جمع گشتند چندین
 هزار و چهار صد مردان² بیکار جمع گشتند بهر جنگ یکبار
 چو بهدینان عیدان صف کشیده ز بهر جنگ اسلامان رسیده
 260 بسی جنگ و جدل شد در میان شان کسی نشنیده بد اندر زمان سان
 در اینجا مختصر کردم همه جنگ که بر بهدین چنان گشته جهان تنگ
 سپاه رای و جمله مرد به نام تباہ گشتند همه در جنگ اسلام
 شده تاراج همه ماوای سنجان سما³ برگشته بد بر مرد چندان
 چو گشته شد دران جنگ رایزاده برزم اندر بسی غوغا فاده
 265 دریغا همچنان مردان بهدین بکشته شد بدست مرد جد دین
 بدان ای مردم دانا و عاقل به بین این گردش افلاک کامل
 مشو مغرور بر کار زمانه نخواهد ماند با کس جاودانه
 همه بهدین از اینجا کشته ویران دگر دانای موبد هم بدینسان
 یکی کوه بلند چون بهاروش نام همه کس رفته آنجا بهر آرام
 270 ده و دو سال مانده اندرانجا بحکم داور بیچون و بکتا
 پس از مدت همه مردان دانا بسوی بان شده آمد از اینجا
 بیاورده مرآت آتش و رهرام بشهر⁴ بان شد کردند آرام
 هبه بهدین و موبد گشته باهوش بدل خوش گشت و غم را کرد فرموش⁵

1 Māwā = refuge.

2 Miswritten for بیکار battle. Pahl. دو و سده.

3 Sama = heaven; dignity, culminating point. Cf. Guj. समेत

यादगाव or वेद. 4 For بانده 5 Farmush = forgetfulness.

بران بگذشت شان را چهارده سال همه دانا شدند از دور خوشحال
 275 دران ایام یکی بهدین به دانت پدید آمد نبودی کس بدینسان
 که دیندار و نیکو خوی و خصال¹ غریبان پرور و نیکو جالی²
 که نامش شاه چانکا ابن آسا بدان خوشدل درین دنیای خواصا³
 بنوساری متوطن گرفته براه کج روی هرگز نرفته
 یک روز آن نیکو بهدین خوشنام باآتش گاه رفت ز اینجا بآرام
 280 ز بنوساری بشهر بانسده رفت ز بهر خدمت آتش کده رفت
 اباخود برد مردان نیکو نام برای خدمت آتش ورهرام
 ز دیدارش همه کس خوش ببودند به پیشش بس پرستش مینمودند
 ز درگاهش همه مرد نیکو خوی همی آمد بنوساری ز ره پوی⁴
 و زانپس آن همه با شادی و ناز بخانه خود همه رفتند با ساز
 285 چو چندین ماه بران بگذشت آنجا پس آن بهدین که نامش چنگه آسا
 بدل نیت بکرد آن نیک بینا بیآرم من ورهرام آتش اینجا
 که جمله انجمن را خواند یک روز بنزدیک خود آن مرد نیکو روز
 همه کس را بگفت آن نیک فرجام بیارم من بنوساری ورهرام
 ازین خوشتر چه باشد ای عزیزان رویم در بانسده با خوش تمیزان⁵
 290 بیآرم آتش مینو از آنجا بنوساری بسازیم جای و ماوا
 ز گفتارش همه بهدین و موبد شده خشنود و گشته دور از بد

1 Khisâli = of good manners. 2 Jamâli = amiable.

3 Khwâs = qualities. Cf. Guj. જાલિ. This world of various different qualities. 4 Pûi = moderate pace, trot.

5 Tamiz = discernment; determination.

همه موبد بچانگا شاه گفتند میان ما و ایشان هست سوگند
 که جای یکدیگر هرگز نستانزیم بحد خود بمانده کار سازیم
 نیا گانیم نوشت خوانی بکرد است که هرگز کس بجای کس نرفت است
 شما آنرا بنوساری میآرند مر آن سنجانه آتش را نیارند 295
 شنید آن چنگه شاه نیک بهدین بگفته جمله موبد را بدان این
 بر ایشان رنج و سختی هست بسیار مر ایشان را نه کس آنجا خریدار
 بنابر من روم شاف را بیآرم براه راست هر دو را سپارم
 که با هم نشود جنگ و جدای نیاید هر دو آنرا بی رضای¹
 300 همه موبد شدند خرم ازین کام ابا چانگا برفتند نزد وهرام²
 پس آنکه آن نیکو بهدین چانگا بکرده موبدان را این دلاسا
 ز گفتارش همه چون شاد گشتند بسوی بانسده در راه رفتند
 بهمره برد آن مردان دانا ز بهر بودن آتش از انجا
 چو چانگا با همه مردان بهدین رسید در بانسده با مرد چندین
 305 بنوساری همه را آوریدند ابا آتش همه مردان رسیدند
 یکی خوشخانه خالی بکرده ورهram آتشی را جای کرده
 پرستنده بودند او را سه موبد بهمرای آتش بود آن رد
 چو آن بودند روز و شب پرستار بروهر که موکل³ بود آن یار
 یکی را نام ناکن رام دانی ازان چون یافته او شاد مانی
 310 دگر موبد که نامش بود خورشید پدر بودش قیامالدین جاوید
 سیوم موبد که چاند نان ابن سایر بنخدمانش⁴ همیشه بود ظاهر

1 Riza = agreement, acquiescence, leave. 2 For Varahrām.

3 Mu'kal = appointed guardian. 4 Pl. of khedmat, service.

همه دستور موبد نوساری چنین کار بخوانند کردای مردان دیندار
 بدان قومش بهگریه ای نکو دان کنند کاریکه مرد و زندگان تان
 330 همه سنجانه راضی شد درینکار نبشت خوان¹ کرده داد از راست کردار
 همه سنجان و دیگر بهگریه هم شدند زینکار هر دو شاد و خرم
 بدینگونه چو چندین سال بگذشت پس آن سنجانیان از راه برگشت
 که بر قول نیاگانان² نرفته بنوساری جدل بر پای کرده
 همه بهدینان را بر غلایند³ ز مهر آن بهگریه باز مانید
 335 ابا بهدین شده سنجانه یکدل بنوساری شده زان کار مشکل
 بهگریه را ابا بهدین شده جنگ میان هردو ان شد جنگ و آهنگ⁴
 دران جنگ هردو جانب گشته گشتند شدند عاجز همه کس باز گشتند
 همه بهدین بسورت رفت فریاد که ای حاکم ستان از مستمند داد
 بهمراه دیساهیسان سورت شدند فریاد با آواز کدورت⁵
 340 جصول⁶ را فرستادند نواب بنوساری روید با توش⁶ و شتاب
 همه کس را گرفته زود آید مگر اینکار را بازی مدارید
 جصول چو شنیدند این ز نواب بنوساری بیامد تیز بشتاب
 بسی ادهار و آثر اشان گرفتند بسوی شهر سورت تیز بردند

1 Agreement = lit. written reading or written tablet.

2 If غلایند, it is from غل ghull, fostering enmity; hatred.

3 Ahang = preparation (for fight). For a free continuous translation of the poem from couplet 335 to couplet 370 *vide my* "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 74-78.

4 Kudurat = resentment. 5 The proper word is ساول yasawal, a policeman. 6 Tosh = power, strength.

همه کس را رجوع کردند بحاکم بپاند آنجا همه مردان پاکم
 345 یکی بهمدین نیکو نام و نکو حال بسورت بود در انوقت ای نکوفال
 که نامش مودی گنورجی بدائی بچنت میکند او شادمانی
 دیگر ادهاروان سورتیه هم به بیش مودی آمد جمله با غم
 ابا مودی برقند در عدالت به نزد حاکم نکو جمالت
 دران مجلس شده انصاف نکو فراوان غور¹ کرد مودی خوشخو
 350 بگمته آن نیکو نواب خوشرنگ که باهم کرده اند مرهردوان جنگ
 ازان از هر دو جانب گشته گشتند ز خون کس بکس هرگز نه جستند
 بدینان در عدالت عدل و انصاف شده چو از ره نیکی و الطاف
 همه کس را رها کردند از آنجا برفته جمله هر جا بهر² ما و
 پس آنکه چو همه بهمدین دیگر بار که وارونی³ بکرده از ره تار⁴
 355 خلاصی داد همه ادهارو آنرا ازیشان ده و دو بگرفته آنجا
 مران ده و دو موبد را فرستاد بزندان و اسیرش کرد بزراد
 بسی مدت دران زندان بپاندند مران نکو بسرگردان بپاند
 پس آن بهمدین مران نکو ظلم کرد همه کس را بگفت ای پاکدین مرد
 یکی بنوشته کرده دهید ما را بهر موبد شوند راضی شما را
 360 هرات موبد پسند خاطر آید کنانید کار خود را او گراید

1 Ghaur = benefit, doing good. 2 Māvā = abode.

3 Vârûni, a wrongful (inverted upside down) act.

4 Târ, dark.

5 Zarâd = a rope.

بدینگونه نوشت خوان کرده دادند بدست آن همه بهدین نهادند
 درانوقت مبلغات خرچ کردند همه بهدین بجان و دل بگردند
 وزانپس ده و دو موبد رهانید همه بهدین شده مغرور و مانید¹
 پس آنکه جمله بهدینان یکبار بنوساری شدند و کشت در کار
 365 هران موبد که چو در بند بودند برستند و بنوساری رسیدند
 همه سنجانه موبد خوش بکشتند که فتح و نصرت² بهدین شدند
 همه سنجانه دردل همچین خواست کند بهدین ابر دایان شدند راست
 پس آنکه آن همه موبد بهکریه شنیدند این خبر از هر محلیه³
 چنان سنجانه موبد را بگفتند که کرگار همه بهدین ما چند⁴
 370 کنند ما در میان تان و مایان شوند جنگ و جدل بیحد و یایان
 بنا بر دست بردارید ازینکار که باهم قضیه و جنگ نبود جار⁵
 پس آن سنجانه¹ در دل فکر کردند که به بودی ازینکار آن نبردند
 همه بهدینان را گفت سنجان که کار تان نباشد از ما آسان
 پس آنکه چو همه سنجان و بهدین چنین منصوبه کرد از رای خود این
 375 یکی موبد مینوچهر هوجی اش نام بطلبیدش قریبش داد ازینکام
 جدا کرد از گروه بهکریه هم شده بیقول و رورا کرد پر غم
 شدند یک دل ابا بهدین و سنجان همه در کار و بارش گشت به جان
 که سابق کار مرده و زنده سنجان بهکریه جمله میکردند با جان

1 Manid = sin, fault. Manidan = to err, to forget.

2 Nusrat = victory.

3 Mahalla = quarter, street.

4 Machand = acquire; lit. kiss, from machidan to = kiss.

5 Jar for jâri = continuous.

درین بابت حقیقت هست بسیار کنم طولش¹ شود خواننده بیزار
 380 لهذا قصه را کوتاه بکردم که قاری² را شود آسان بهردم
 پس از راوی³ شنیدم این بیانش چو چندین سال رانده این عیانش⁴
 چنین وار⁵ نیها سنجانه انداخت همه بهدین را برگشته و کاشت⁶
 همه نیکو پیکریه گشت محروم شدند بی وار⁷ و بی توش⁸ و بی نوم⁹
 بدرگاه خدا همواره میخواست که ای دادار کار مان بکن راست
 385 بکن رحم ای خدایا بر نیکویان همه بهدین شوند برمان چو جویان¹⁰
 خدایا رحم کن بر بی¹¹ و رانان همه بهدین شوند بر ما خوش آسان
 از انپس مدتی از حکم دادار بنوساری شده یک در¹² پدیدار
 بدان نامش دیساهی نیک خورشید نیکو چهر و نیکو اخصال¹³ چو شید¹⁴
 همه جاهست نامش نیک مشهور الهی دار ویرا شاد و پر نور
 390 خدا داده مرا او را عقل روشن ز هوش خود برگرفته حل¹⁵ همه فن
 چنان در قوم موبدان دانا بدینسان در بداده آن خدایا

1 Taul = length; prolixity; verbosity. 2 Qari = reader.

3 Râvi = historian, narrator. 4 'Iyân = manifestation.

5 Wrongs. 6 Kâshtan = to turn away.

7 Waress = lord or master; also heir.

8 Tûsh = food. 9 Nûm = sleep.

10 Juyân = seekers, supplicants, *i.e.* May it be so that the Behedins may come to us seeking our aid.

11 Bi-Warâsân = helpless, left without inheritance.

12 Durr = pearl, *i.e.* great man.

13 Khasâl = manners. 14 Shid = sun.

15 Hal = solving, untying (fann = deceits).

گروه موبدان پهمکریه را شده آب از نیکو خورشید پیدا
 دران مدت بنوساری یکی راو که کنکاجی بود نامش ابا تاو¹
 به پیش آن نیکو سردار دانا همه بهدین شده فریاد آنجا
 395 ز بهر موبدان پهمکریه هم کم و افزون سخن گفته به پرغم
 همه موبد پهمکریه را بطلبید بنزد راو کنکاجی به دید
 دران مجموع دیساهی نیک خورشید بسی پاسخ بداد از راه اُمید
 دران مجلس بسی گشته محاکا ابا بهدین برگردی محابا²
 متین³ گشته علمهای پهمکریه بنانده سست همه بهدین خضیه⁴
 400 نزد راو کنکاجی سردار بسی گفته مران خورشید اظهار⁵
 بدان ای نیک دل سردار مایان که هستند این همه بهدین بجایان⁶
 مرید ما همه هستند بهدین که برگشتند از ما جمله این بین
 ز گفت این همه سنجانه موبد فریبیده شدند بهدین از بد
 بدینگونه بسی گفته درانجا که حیران ماند جمله مرد دانا
 405 همه بهدین بکشته عاجز و زار خوش گشته چنان از راست گفتار
 همه گفتار او چون راو بشنید بدل اندر گذارید و پسندید

1 Tāv = strength, power. 2. Muhākā = relating, telling,
i.e. discussion. If read with ق, contention.

3 Muhaba = showing respect, connivance.

4 Matin, firm. 5. For خضیه = terrified.

6 Izhar = statement. 7 Bajāyan, *i.e.* those who stick to
 place *i.e.* obstinate. Or it may mean "those who are
 in their right place *i.e.* correct, (but, as said below,
 they are misled by Sanjana priests)."

که حق واجبی چو میرسد این پیکریه را بدان ای مرد بهدین
 چو در مجلس بگفت آن نیک سردار باواز بلند و خوب گفتار
 دران مجلس دیسایان هندو نشسته بد همه از راه بد خو
 410 دگر دانا و عاقل هم درانجا به بدند آن بنزد راو کنکا
 که و مه جمله بهدین هم بی بودند پیکریه هم دران یکسر بی بودند
 دران مجلس بگفت آن راو سردار باواز بلند و نیز گفتار
 که بهدینان یکسر در نوساری مرید پیکریه اند دایم جاری
 میان شان بدینگونه بسی گفت همه بهدین شده روزرد و بی¹ جفت
 415 دران مجلس نیکو سردار خورشید بگفته راو را تو باش جاوید
 که پیش از تو بسی سردار بودند کسی انصاف مایان را نکردند
 بکردی راست انصاف از نیکوای که محرومان² رسیدند بر سر جای
 مرادمان چنین است ای خداوند همه بهدین نوشته کرده بدهند
 نوشت خوان کرده شان بدهند ما را که هر کاریکه مرد و زندگان را
 420 بدست موبدان پیکریه ها کنایم ما همه بهدین بدلها
 دگر نیز اینچنین بنویسد از جان مرید پیکریه هستیم با جان
 بدینگونه نویسند کار مایان شوند مربوط³ و خوب ای نیکرایان
 چو راو نیک بشنید این ز خورشید دلاسه خوب داد او را ز امید
 ز بعدش جمله بهدین را بخوانند دران مجلس بنزد خود نشانند
 425 باواز بلند گفت ای عزیزان پیکریه را شان گشتند⁴ مریدان

1 Bi-juft, = without a pair or a match, *i.e.* helpless.

2 Mahrâman = the disappointed.

3 For مربوط strong, or for مربوط bound ; fastened.

یکی بنوشته باید کرد اینجا نکردیم از پهریه موبدان ما
 دگر نیز اینچنین بنوشته باید که هرکاریکه مرد و زنده آید
 پهریه موبدان یکسر کنند این بران هستیم راضی جمله بهدین
 همه بهدین ز کنگاجی چو بشنید همو وقت کاغذ آورد و نوشتید
 430 بدین گونه همه بهدین نوشت خوان بکرد و داده بر دست نکویان
 مریدان این نوشته کرده دادند بدست موبد نکو نهادند
 نوشت خوانی همه موبد بدیدند خوشی کشتند و شادیها گزیدند
 بران کاغذ همه کس شاهی کرد که و مه هرکه بد در مجلس مرد
 دیساهیاف هندو هم گواه کرد بران کاغذ نیکو ای پاکدین مرد
 435 که کاغذ شد مرتب چو ز گفتار بدست پهریه دادند اظهار
 همه موبد پهریه خوش به بودند نکو سردار خورشید را ستودند
 پهریه شد منور چو ز خورشید دعا کرده همه کس باتی جاوید
 که نوساری ازو گذار گشته ز اقبالش اشو هوشیار گشته
 ابا دودمان ورا داری تو خرم خدا یا دار ویرا شاد و بی غم
 440 همیشه جلوه¹ مندی بر گروهان که میدارد نیکو خورشید باجان
 ز کارش جمله بهدین هم خوشی شد که جنگ و² هنگ همه زان برطرف شده
 شده اجرا³ همه کار نکویان ابا بهدین خوشی کشته اشویان
 همه سنجانه شد زان زرد رویان شده کار بهگریه نیک خویان
 وزانپس در یکی روز آن نیکویان نام بدان نامش تو خورشید همچو گل فام

1 Splendour. 2 Hang, collision.

3 Ijra = performance.

445 همه موبد پهریه را بگفتند که کار ما شده بر راست خرسند
 یکی کار دیگر مانده درینجا که سنجانه کنند کار اندرینجا
 همه کس را ببايد زود گفتن¹ که کار تان بنوساری نه سقتن¹
 همه کس همچنین منصوبه کردند و زانپس جمله سنجان را بگفتند
 که چو آبا و اجداد شما یان برانده اند درینجا نیکیسرایان
 450 بدینگونه شما هم جمله را نید هم از جنگ و جدل² هم بازمانید
 همه کاریکه مرد و زندکان تان بنوساری کنیم ای مرد چندان
 چو بشنید این همه سنجانه آواز در حیل و مکر را کرده شان باز
 پهریه را جواب این داد سنجان نوشت خوانی نیاگانیم بوده آن
 به بینیم و همه بر راه باشیم براه کیج روی هرگز نپاشیم
 455 چون بشنید این پهریه ازدل و جان بر آوردند کاغذ جمله اینان
 همه سنجان نوشت خوانی بدیدند براه خود نیاگانان رسیدند
 براه کیج روی هرگز نرفتند که آبا یان برفته همچو تفتند³
 چو چندین روز رفتند بر ده راست یکی شیطان وارونی در انداخت
 همه سنجانیان را بر غلایید⁴ ز راه راست شان را بازمانید
 460 همه کس را بگفت آن زشت کردار شوید فریاد بر نزد صوبه دار
 که دامانجی بدان نامش توای یار نیکو عدل و نکو خصال و به کار
 همه افتاده سنجان در فریبش نرسیدند از راه نهیش⁵

1 Siftan = to make strong. 2 Jadal = fight.

3 Taftan = to walk. 4 غلا Ghilla, to bid against; to

shoot with force. 5 Nahib = fear, terror, plundering.

همه موبد سنجانه برفتند بنزد راو دامانجی بتفتند
 بسونکر بود راو نیک فرجام همیشه بود ابا شادی و آرام
 465 بدرگاهش شده سنجانه فریاد که ای سردار از ما بستان¹ داد
 چو جمله کیضیات خود بگفتند که راو نیک همه در کوش سفند²
 ز بعدش پیکریه هم جمله یکبار ابا خورشید دیساهی رفت ناچار
 که خورشید هم بگفته راو دامان برفت و گفتگو کرده بسامان³
 ز یکسو جمله سنجانه دیگر سو که خورشید بود ای مرد نکو خو
 470 جواب و بس سوالش در میان شان بنزد راو دامانجی خوش جان
 بسی در مجلسش کرده محاکا که خورشید هم بگفته بی محابا
 چو کیضیات دوسویان راو بشنود بدل اندر گذاریدند و بنمود
 همه سنجانه موبد را بگفتند که از راه نیاکانه شما چند
 شما بر گشته از راه آیا⁴ که او رفتند براه راست اینجا
 475 که سرحد شایان ماند سنجان بنوساری نباید کرد زینسان
 بدینسان گفت دامانجی بانصاف ز راه نیک و وز راه خوب و صاف
 همه سنجانه بشنید از نیکو راو تفکر کرد و در دل گشت بی تاو⁵
 بدامانجی همه کس گفت از جان ابا آتش رویم مایان بسنجان
 چو شد حکمت رویم مایان به تقسیم⁶ بدان سرحد سنجان ای ا. ن. بیم

1 Setandan = to take. 2 Sufan = to pierce.

3 Saman = patince, understanding.

4 Āyā = Is it not? 5 Tāv = strength, splendour.

6 Taqsim = scattering, dispersing.

480 که دامانجی ز سنجانه چو بشنود سوی خورشید دیساهی زود بنمود
 که سنجانه بدین طور و بدینسان چو میگویند ای خورشید به جان
 جواش داد آن نیکو سرانجام که ای سردار مایان و نیکو نام
 که گر سنجانه مانند چون درینجا بران ره شان روند چو رفته آبا¹
 بنوساری بمانند این همه کس که کار² مرده و زنده میکنم پس
 485 و کر نه راه خود گیرند یکسر بسرحد خود این باشند بهتر
 چو راو نیک بشنید این ز خورشید مران سنجانه را نزدیک طلبید
 همه کس را بگفت این کیفیاتش ازان سنجانه گشته جمله ناخوش
 باآواز بلند سنجانه گفتا نه ما نیم ای نیکو سردار اینجا
 ابا آتش ورهرا³ نیکو نام رویم زمینجا به تقسیم² ابا کام
 490 یکی پروانه باید داد مارا کسی مانع نباشند اندر اینجا
 چو راو نیک پروانه بکرده بدست جمله سنجانان سپرده
 همو لحظه³ ز سو تکر در نوساری بیامد جمله سنجانه بخواری
 سنجانه جمله بستند رخت و اسباب برای رفتن بلسار بشتاب
 بروز جامیاد و مه سفندار ز نوساری برفت سنجانه اظهار
 495 سنه از یزد جردی يك الف خوان بران یکصد و نه افزای به دان
 دران روز جمله سنجانه برفتند ز نوساری بده بلسار تفتند
 چو سنجانه ابا آتش به بلسار رسیدند و شدند هرجای اخبار
 درانجا مانده ایشان دوسه سال ازانجا هم بیسته رخت و زد فال

1 Aba = forefathers. 2 Taqsim = dividing, dispersing.

3 Hamu lahza = the same moment.

بیامد در اودواره جمله بیغم بیارثی نیکو راجای خرم
 500 که نامش دُرجه سنگ راجا بدانی خوشی کن ای نیکو¹ وز شادمانی
 ز بعدش آن نیکو خورشید سردار بنوساری بیامد گفت اظههار
 همه موبد پهریه را بگفتند که قضیه بر طرف شد ای نیکو پند
 همه بهدین و موبد گشته هم یار خوشی و خرمی گشته ازینکار
 چو چندین سال بگذشتند زینان همه موبد شدند یک² قلب و یکسان
 501 ایا شاپور بشو هوشیار زین راز بزودی قصه آتش به پرداز
 مراد تان رساند پاک یزدان بهر جا که ترا باشد نگهبان
 خداوندا بکن یاری درینکام که سازم قصه آتش ورهرام

1 Neku vaz = well-growing. Vazidan = to go Av. وادی,

Pahl. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥, Skr. वह, Lat. vah-are, Fr. en-vo-yer.

2 Qalb = heart, mind, soul.

(قصه آتش ور هرام نوساری)

کنون بشنو نکو این قصه ای مرد بنام پاک دادار اشو فرد¹
 یکی روز موبدان و هیربدان هم شدند یکدل در انوقت شاد و خرم
 510 بروز اردیبهشت و ماه میمون که فروردین فرخ بود همچون
 جمع گشتند یکسر موبدان پاک همه دستور و هیربد هم خوره ناک²
 سر سرور دیساهی بود خورشید که او هم آمده در دل پر امید
 دیگر بهدین و جله نیک رایان بنوساری بدندی کدخدایان
 همه یکسر برفتند در در مهر ز بهر میزد³ رقتون⁴ جمله خوشچهر
 515 همه موبد شدند فارغ ازینکار دعاها خواست جمله بیش دادار
 پس آنکه گفت با خورشید دیندار که باید کرد ما را اینچنین کار
 که در دورت کنیم آتش ور هرام ازان باشد ترا تا جاودان نام
 فرضیه هست بر مردان بهدین بهر شهریکه بهدینست چندین
 ور هرام آتش آنجا کرد باید که کار شان در آنجا بهتر آید

1 The writer himself has not written the heading, though he kept some space vacant, perhaps, with a view to write the heading.

2 Incomparable, unique; God. 3 Khureh-nak = full of splendour. 4 Av. ^{آو} ^{آو}, an assembly for the performance of religious ceremonies; a Jashan.

5 Raftwan = Rapithwan.

52 همه از يك دل و يكجهت گفتند دُرّ معنی درين اخبار سفتند
 پس آنكه يك دل سردار خورشيد بگفته با همه كس راز اميد
 كه من نيز اينچنين درد دل شب و روز هميخواهم درين درگاه فيروز
 اگر راي شاهست در چنين كار شوم حاضر كنون هروقت و گه يار
 همه دستور و موبد اين شنودند بران سرور دعاها مي نمودند
 52 بخوانده تندرستی از دل و جان كه سازيم آتش بهرام مايان
 شده متفق همه از كار و بارش كه نسخه آوريد از اوزوارش¹
 درين ايام دستوران دستور كه نام او بود سهراب پُر نور
 كه نسل اوست از دستور ماهيار بداني باب آن رانا نيكوكار
 هميشه دين به را جلوه داده گنهگاران نكو تر شد زياده
 53 بنزد يك شه اكبر رفته بد او بسي برهان دين ظاهر بگرد او
 كه نام او همه جاهت ظاهر مران دستور بد او پاك و طاهر
 همه نسخات پازند پهلوی بود بر آورده ز دفتر خانه زود
 دگر دستور برزو ابن داراب خدا دادست او را علم با آب
 بر آورده ز نسخات گرامي يكي نسخه بخط فرس خواني
 53 سيوم دستور بد جشيد جاماسب بسي عقل است او را همچو جاماست
 چو دستور چهارم مانگش نام كه بابش بود جشيد نيكو كان

1 Uzvaresh هزوارش "Huzvaresh, a term applied to Pahlavi, and usually written Zvarish by Persian writers" (Vide Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd ed. by West, p. 42. Vide West, S.B.E., Vol. V, Introd. p. XIV).

که او کرده بجنّت جای آرام خدا یاد و گروندان دار مادام
بدانی سلسلش از مهیار رانا سر سرور¹ بدان دستور دانا
همه دستور و موبد جمع بدند مران نسخه بخورشید می نمودند
540 که ای سردار مایان این به بینید میان بر دین یزدان سخت بندید
چو آن نسخه بدیده نیک سردار بسی خشنود گشت و گفت اظهار
ز ایران آمدست این نسخه نام بسازیم ما ازین آتش وهرام
چنین گفتند ایا موبد و دستور بسی خشنود گشت و شاد و معمور
دعاها کرد بر خورشید بسیار که قایم بادای سردار دیندار
545 پدر باشد و را² همور نامی که او کردست در جنت مقامی
بسی بر مردمان احسان رسانید ز³ باج خانگی شاف را رهانید
زو دستور و موبد یافت رونق شده باطل نهان پیدا شده حق
خداوند مران سردار نامی بداری بر سر مایان کرامی
خدا دادست او را نیک فرزند که نام او مینوچهر است و⁴ دلبند
550 اوستا را همیشه دوست دارد براه راست تن را میسپارد
بنوساری همیشه باد قایم بدارد شهر را آباد دایم
پس آنکه آن نیکو نام و نیکوکار بطلبیده همه مردان دیندار
همه دستور و موبد را بگفتند که بنویسیم همه ما یان نامه چند
پراگنده شود این کار مایان که هر جا هست بهدین نیکریان
555 شود معلوم مر آنرا حال و احوال که میسازیم آتش را بدینحال
نوشتند کاغذ و هر جا فرستند یکی در شهر سورت هم نوشتند

1 Baj = duties, taxes. 2 Delband = attractive, lovely.

بسورت بود سرداران خوشنام یکی سرور بود نوشیروان نام
 پدر باشد و را دانی تو بهمن بیجنت کرده است ماوای روشن
 که نسل او بدان از سیث رستم درین ایام بد او مرد حاطم
 560 ابا مردان دین کشته وفادار بسی جاه و جلالش داده دادار
 که از ایران به هند آمد بزرگان چون مردی نبوده در میان شان
 دویم مهتر که اسمش هست سهراب خدایا دار ویرا همچو مهر آب
 که همواره نیکوی بخش عالم مدامش دار اینجا شاد و سالم
 همه تجار و خواسان سیث گویند همیشه زو همه امید جویند
 565 بدانی نسل او از سیث رستم همه بد خواه خود را ساخت پرغم
 دویم سرور که نامش هست داراب که عرفش سیث گویند جمله با آب
 بهر جا نام نیکو فاش¹ گشتست بکار گرفته او رقص² گشتست
 بدانی نسل او از سیث رستم برادی و سخاوت همچو رستم
 که در ایام پیش او تاج بخش بود درین هنگام این هم میکند سود
 خداوندا در حفظ خود نگاهدار چو این داراب نامش در پناه دار
 570 تو سردار چهارم دان مینوچهر خداوندا بدار او را تو خوشچهر
 بود بابش نیکو خورشید نامی مدانیم میکند او شادمانی
 همه برنا و پیران سیث گویند همیشه زو همه امید جویند
 مراد بیکسان را او بر آرد براه راست کج را میسپارد
 575 که در فرزانی و عقل مشهور همه جا کشته نامش نیک بر نور
 دلیر است و جوانست و نیکوکار درین ایام پیدا کرده دادار

1 Fash = public known. 2 Quick = alert. Baqqas = a swift messenger.

چو بشنیدند همه سردار خوشنام که میسازند بنوساری ورهرام
 بسی خشنود گشتند چو ازینکار دعاها خواست اندر پیش دادار
 بسی خوشدل شده پاسخ نوشتند هران خرچیکه باید ما فریستند
 580 همیشه ما چنان امیدواریم بنوساری شود این کار و باریم
 دگر پهروچ و اوکلیر ازینحال شده واقف همه از حال و احوال
 همین اخبار کنایت رسیدند بسی خوشدل شدند بهدین شنیدند
 بهشت نامه با جماع کوداره که بسته گستیاف این کاروباره
 شنیدند و خوشی گشتند از جان شده نازان و خندان از دل و جان
 585 یکی در شهر منبج نوشتند ازان بهدین و موبد خوشی شدستند
 چو پاسخ نامه آمد از هر اطراف که باید کرد اینکار از دل صاف
 که در ایام مایان این به بینم بقلب خود بصد شادی کزینم
 بنوساری شوند آتش ورهرام ازان دیوان شوند زین دهرکم نام
 چوپاسخ نامه خوانده در در مهر همه برنا و پیران گشتند خوشچهر
 590 پس آنکه سرور خورشید با آب بگفته با همان دستور سهراب
 بجلدئی تمام اینکار کردن هران چیزی که باید آن به بردن
 بنام قادر نیکو سر انجام کنید آغاز کار آن ورهرام
 چو بشنیده همان دستور خوشنام شده خشنود و جسته از خدا کام
 همان نسخات سامی را بر آورد که در پازند و فرس و بهلوی بود
 595 یکی نسخه بدید از خط داراب بد او دستور دانا و نیکویاب
 از آن نسخه بکرده کار بهرام بران خشنود گشته جمله خوشنام
 یکی روز آنچنان چون عهد بستند همه برنا و پیران جمع گشتند

دران مجموع دیساهی جیوش نام هم او آمد بخوش رغبت و آرام
 که بابش بود مانک نیک سردار که ماوایش بجنّت داده دادار
 600 چو آن نسخه بخواند دستور سهراب شنودند و همه کشتند شاداب
 ازان نسخه همه کشتند ماهر همه ترتیب آتش بود ظاهر
 نوشته بد همه کیفیات آتش که باید شانزده آوردن آتش
 نخست آتش که سوزند مرده دروند ابا پیوند شود یکبار چیستند
 ز بعد آن دو موبد پاک و مرغوب ابا پیوند شوندان¹ صاحب خوب
 605 یکی جای بود در حفظ و در بند دران جا گاه² نه کودال³ کنندند
 بوزن⁴ یک وجب⁵ طول⁶ و عرض آن بود ویدشت مرد سی سنه دان
 ز یکدیگر جدا⁷ کونه بکنندند چون⁸ نه کودال همگونه بکردند
 پس آنجا چیده آتش را بیارند بکو دال نخست اندر سپارند
 چو گردد سرو بردارد دیگر بار بگودال دویم بهند شود حار⁹
 610 چو زینسان برد باید تا¹⁰ بنه جا نگهدارد بجای آخرین را
 پس آنکه بوی خوش بهند بر آتش ازان باشند دیوان جمله نا خوش
 تا آن آتش نهد بوی و ایسم نیز دگر خوشبوی باشد جلگی چیز
 پس آنکه آورند اندر در مهر برای یشتن یشت نیکو مهر⁸

1 The word is written twice by mistake in the Ms.

2 Kudâl = a ditch, hole. 3 Wazn = measure.

4 Wajab = a span; 9 inches. 5 Tul o arz = Length
and breadth. 6 Ohidan = to gather. 7 Hâr = hot.

8 Yahr = desire, eagerness.

وزانیس موبد پاک و نیکوکار ده و پنج هنر داند مرد دیندار
 615 نود و یک یزشن پس در اندم¹ بر آن آتش کند آن موبدان هم
 چو آن آتش بچینند از یزشن شود فارغ بآن نیکو جهش²
 ز بعد آن بر آن آتش بفرمود سه و نندید و یزشن سه کند زود
 به یزد آن بنام پاک اورمزد بیاید در گروئنان خوره و مزد
 وزانیس تا بیکماه یشته بیاید که و نندیداد در شب خوانده شاید
 620 یزد از روز هورمزد تا انارام دو موبد دمبدم و نندید مادام
 چو شد مرتب یکی آتش ازینکار بجای خوب و پاکیزه ورا دار
 دران جاگه رود آن صاحب خوب بنامی بردها³ بنسدد باسلوب⁴
 شده طیار یک آتش تمامی ازین مضمون⁵ بدان ای نیکنامی
 دویم آتش بیار از خانه رنگیریز⁶ ازین ترتیب چینند و کنند ویز⁷
 625 سیوم آتش بیارند از همای بدانی⁸ معنی⁹ و نندید خوانی
 به هشتم کرده و نندید ظاهر بگفته است با زرتشت ظاهر⁸
 بدین ترتیب چیدن شافزده آتش ازان گشتند دیوان جمله ناخوش
 بکردم مختصر تا طول باشد دل قاری⁹ ازان مالول باشد
 اگر خواهی که دانی این حقیقت به بین معنی و نندید از طریقت

1 In that breath, i.e. at that time.

2 Jahish = nature.

3 Ba aslub = according to method, proper order.

4 Mazmûn = sense, contents. 5 Rang-riz = a dyer.

6 Viz = pure. 7 M'any = efficacy. 8 Taher = body.

9 Qâri = reader.

630 حقیقه‌های آتش قصه چند بخوان در پهلوی و فرس و پازند
 شود معلوم از آن نسخه‌ها تمام که همچو کرد باید کار و هرام
 چون نزد موبدان این خواند دستور که نام او بود سهراب مشهور
 همه واقف شده موبد ازین حال دعاها کرد بدستور فی الحال
 پس آنکه سرور خورشید دانا بگفته با همه کس با دلاسا
 635 که دستور آن دستور است سهراب و را گفتش نکو سردار با آب
 که جمله موبدان و هیربدان را جمع سازید یکسر فاضلان را
 که چون دانا و عالم هر که باشد گزینید آنکسان را شناسد
 بدانند کار یشتن یشت و وندید کند هر روز در دل صبر و تمحید¹
 چو بشنیدند همین گفتار دستور شده و سرخ و دل در گشت پر نور
 640 خبر کردند تمامی موبدان را بطلبیده بنزدیک خودان را
 بنوساری همه بودند موبد بیامد جمع دو صد فاضل و رد
 دیساهی را ازان کردند خبردار چون بشنید این سخن آن نام بردار
 بگفتا کرد باید اختیاری ز کارشان شود بس نام داری
 ازیشان صد گزیده پس در اندم که در تن پاک و زیرک جمله همدم
 645 اوستا را درست راست خوانند ره شایست و نا شایست بدانند
 بگفته حال دانا یاب سراسر بسرور می نمودند جمله ظاهر
 بسی خشنود گشت آن نیک سردار خدا یا دولت او را نگهدار
 آلهی بر سر مایان بداری همیشه سایه گستر بختیاری

1 Tamhtd = arranging, adjusting.

خدا یا کرده نامش تو خورشید بداری دولتش را تا تو جاوید
 650 الهی مرو را بیدار کردان عدویش را همیشه خوار کردان
 ازان روزیکه پیدا شد ز مادر همه دشمن شده پامال و یستر
 شده بختش¹ انغروار روشن خدا این اسپرم داده بگش
 که از بویش شده بد خواه نگونسار درینجا همچنین کل داده دادار
 هراکس کو مر این کل را ببویند دماغ خود رغلفس² می بشویند
 655 تو آن گل دان که نامش هست خورشید بنوساری خدا یا دار جاوید
 که در دورش شود آتش وره رام ازان ملعون شود بی زور و بی کام
 شده خواهان بدین مزدیستان مرادش را بر آرای پاک یزدان
 که نوساری از و دایم شگفته است همه بد خواه خود را هم شکسته است
 ثنایش از زبان من نیاید که چندین میکنم دفتر فزاید
 660 بیا شاپور قلم را تیز کردان مراد خویش را در پیش کردان
 بنام قادر پیچون و خوشنام بکرده ابتدا آتش وره رام
 بروز پاک هور مزد نخستین بهاء تیر بود ای مرد بهدین
 سنه کر یزد جردی را بجوی هزار و یکصد و سی چهار کوی
 شروع کرده درین روز اینچنین کار سر انجامش رساند پاک دادار

1 I am doubtful about the reading and meaning of this word. It may have been miswritten for *عود وار* i.e. like aloe-wood.

2 I am doubtful about the reading and meaning of this word. *rughal* is "the plant orage". The second part of word may be 'ghas,' i.e. weak, languid.

- 665 همان موبد که صد بگزید دانا بتن پاکان و پر دانش توانا
 چو آن موبد بیامد در در مهر برای یشت یشتن جمله خوشچهر
 همه موبد لباس خوب پوشید پناهی بردهان بستند و جوشید
 چو چیده آتشان را در در مهر بیاورده بد آن دانای خوشچهر
 بران آتش یزشن کرد جاری باواز بلند و خواستاری
 670 ازان وستا همه دیوان نکونسار بیفتاده همه در دوزخ تار
 خوشی گشتند همه امشاسفندان باواز اوستا خواندن ایشان
 همه موبد که اندر کار آن بود نمی رفتند هرگز خانه خود
 همیشه مانند ندی در در مهر ز بهر یشت و وندیداد خوشچهر
 همین گونه ده و شش آتشان را بکرده یشت و وندیداد آنرا
 675 همه آتش شده از یشت طیار مراو را جمع کرده چون بیکبار
 بیک آدوشت نهاده آتشان را مراو را آتش بهرام کوئیا¹
 پس آنکه بوی خوش بنهاد دستور شده آتش ورهرا ازوی پر نور
 ازان خوشبو شده ددیوان همه کم بیفتاده همه بریاب بمام
 لفتهان را بگفته است یزدان که آتش را بهر جا شو نگهبان
 680 نه خوشبو بهر که بر ورهرا همه دیوان شود زانجای گم نام
 هزاران دیو و بیور جادوانرا شکست و زدرسدان بوی آنرا
 خصوصاً بوی خوش بنهاد باید بوقت نیم شب تا بهتر آید
 خداوند مرا ب دستور نامی بسی خدمت بکرده آن گرامی

1 It is an unusual combination of words. It is tô yâ, i.e.
 oh you !

بدانی نام آن دستور^۱ سهراب آلهی مر ورا داری تو شاداب
 685 چنان کردند که در نسخات بدند موافق بهلوی یازند نمودند
 بگفته بود آن دادار^۱ نیکو بزرشت پیمبر پاک و آشو
 به بین در کرده^۱ هشتم پیدا بگفته است آندادار یکتا
 اگر تو زند و ندیداد خوانی همه اسرار آتش را بدانی
 همه نسخات دیده کرده اینکار خدای گو بوده هر وقت و که یار
 690 بعون ایزد دانای خوشنام بنوساری شده آتش ورهرام
 همه را مزد داد و کرد خشنود بر آورده مراد و جمله مقصود
 همه موبد بدل شادی کشادند که هرگز کس چنین محنت ندادند
 دوگانه مزد داده آن نیکو فال همه موبد خوشی گشتند از انال
 دعا کردش بران سردار دانا که نام بود خورشید پانا
 695 درین دور اوارون^۱ اینچنین کار نکرده بد کسی ای مرد دیندار
 همه از کار خانهای جو دین بیاوردند آتش جمله بهدین
 خدا داده همه این حکمت و هوش ازان جد دین شده بی حشمت و توش
 خدا داده هدایت مزور این نشانی آتش بهرام را این
 بسی کرفته شده حاصل ازینکار بیابد مزد آن در پیش دادار
 700 بگفته است اندر زند و ندید چو مرده سوز آتش را کسی چید
 ثواب او بود چندان که دانی که بیوراثان را در نشانی
 دویم آتش بیار از خانه راکریز همین ترتیب جینند و کنند و بر
 ثواب او بود ای مزد به راه هزار آتش نشایند بدرگاه

1 Arun = amiable, attractive.

705 سیوم آتش یسارند از همای پیچینند همچنین گفتم که دانی
 دهد مزدش خدا او را بمینو که یانصد آتشان درگاه نشاند او
 ازین ترتیب ده و شش آتشانرا پیچینندش دهد مزدش مر آنرا
 همین گونه بگفته آن خداوند بزرشت نیکو دین و هماوند
 پس آنکه آن نیکو سهراب دستور بگفته با همان سردار پُر نور
 شده مرتب شه آتش وهرام سرانجامت رسانیده خدا کام
 710 جوابش داد آن سردار خورشید که ای دستور دانا باد جاوید
 یکی گنبد کنانیدم سزاوار برای آتش وهرام شاهوار
 نشانیم آتش بهرام آنجا مراد ما بجا آرد بدانجا
 هوس بدم که دیدارش به بینم کلی شادی زرخسارش به چینم
 چنان بشنود آن دستور دانا بتن خوش گشت و دردل شد توانا
 715 بروز آن سروش پاک رهبر بهاء اردیبهشت نیک خوشتر
 سنه کر یزدجردی را بدانی هزار و یک صد و سی پنج خوان
 درین روز آن نیکو آتش وهرام نشانیده بتخت سنگ ارخام
 بدور آن نیک سردار دانا که نامش راو کردارجی پانا
 رعیت پرور است و نیک انصاف آلهی دار ویراحی¹ و دل صاف
 720 زهر² طالع که در دورش چنین کار شده از حکم ایزد پاک دادار
 باول بوی داد آن نیک دستور ابر آتش وهرام نیکو نور
 همه دستور و موبد شد پرستار دگر بهدین و سرور شد مددگار

1 Haiy = alive.

2 Zahr tala'a = bright-fortuned, from

Zahr, bright; or flower-fortuned, from zahr, a flower.

ازان جادو و دیوان کشت ویران شده آباد نوساری چو ایوان
 چو آتش را همه کس شد پرستار که نوساری شده چون باغ گلزار
 725 بهر شهریکه بهدین نام بودند که و مه هر که خاص و عام بودند
 رسیدند آگهی آنجا ازینکام بنوساری شده آتش وره رام
 که نوساری ز آتش پُر هنر شد همه زرتشتیان را این خبر شد
 همه بهدین ز هر شهر و ز اطراف بنوساری همی آمد بدل صاف
 بسوی شهر سورت این خبر شد همه بهدین بجان و دل روان شد
 730 همه خاصان و دانا یان و سردار بیامد پیش آتش شد پرستار
 برای دیدن آتش وره رام بداده نفقه¹ و کسوت² شده رام³
 بسی زر خرچ کرده پیش بهرام همه دستور و موبد کشت خوش کام
 بسی هدیه فدا کرده بر آتش ازان کشتند دیوان جمله نا خوش
 چو در بهروج و او کلیسر ازین حال همه بهدین شده واقف نیکو فال
 735 همه مردم بنوساری دوا نشد برای دیدن آتش روان شد
 بنزدیک وره رام هدیه بردند چون آن هدیه بران انشار⁴ کردند
 هر آنکس مرد بهدین نام بودند بنزد آتش بهرام بودند
 ز دیدارش همه کس گشته بی غم رسید⁵ ایفیت و حاجت گشته خرم
 همه مردم دعا کرده بخورشید که ای سردار باشی تا تو جاوید
 740 نشانید آتش بهرام مینو خدا یا مر ورا داری تو نیکو

1 Nafaqah = expenses, maintenance. 2 Kesvat = dress.

3 Rām = happy. 4 Nisār kardan = to scatter. The
 alif in the beginning of the word is not necessary.

5 Miswritten for آیت aiyett = wish, desire.

چنین گفتست در دین مرد هام¹ نبودی چون آتش وهرام
 ز آسیب بدان و ظالمان هم ز دزدان رهنمان و بدتران هم
 ز جای جای دیگر نتوان باخت ز شهری شهری دیگر نتوان تاخت
 ز برکت وهرام نیکو دان که مردم در امان باشند ز دزدان
 745 که بیدادی نمیسازند حاکم ازین برکت دان ای مرد پاکم
 چنین گفتست ز رشت سفتان بنزدیک شه گشتاسپ به دان
 مهر شهری شتابی آتشان را نشانی و کنی خدمت بهرگاه
 ازان آباد باشد شهر و رعیت نه ظلم و نه ستم باشد نه زحمت
 ختم شد قصه بهرام فیروز بخوان ای نیک مرد عالم افروز
 750 خداوندا امیدم را روا کن مرا بر دین ز رشت آشنا کن
 خداوندا غریب و بیگسانم کنی رحمت ابر روح و روانم
 خدایا بر من مسکین بکن رحم ازان من در جهان باشم ابا فهم
 خداوندا که هستم بس گنهگار مرا از دست اهریمن نگهدار
 خدایا بینوام روزیها بخش ز حکمایت تن من را شفا بخش
 755 خدایا گردکارا پاک دینا همیشه روح و جانم را تگینا
 منم مسکین توی پروردگارا نکو دین را تو کردی آشکارا
 مهر لحظه ترا خوانم همیشه مرا هرجا بداری راست پیشه
 درین دنیا شدم بیچار و محروم ز احسانت بکن هر لحظه خرم
 درگاهت بنالم من شب و روز مراد من رسان ای پاک فیروز
 760 ز وارونی دیوان دور داری ز من اهریمنان رنجور داری

1 Hamām = liberal, heroic.

که از باد سموم¹ و وزخزانی² نریزانی دمن برگ جوانی
 کنی معمور³ و ز باد اشوی کزان خرم شوم بس سرخ روی
 ز ترم دور کن بد حاسدان را رسان بر جای پاکان ای خدایا
 درین گیتی مرا مشهور سازی بجنّت بر روانم کن نوازی
 765 بدرگاهت کنم ای حق مناجات قبولش کن بر آر اینجای حاجات
 چنان این قصه آتش ورهرام بسر کردم بنوساری ابا کام
 اگر خواهی که نام این قصه پرداز بدان شین و الف ای مرد همراز
 دگر بن عجمی و واو وری دان شود ظاهر تر ازین حرفها خوان
 ازین حرفش شود چون نام شاپور بود بابش نیکو مانک مسرور⁴
 770 که نام باب آن دان نیک بهرام بجنّت جای کرد است بهر آرام
 همیشه پیشه اش خوان ای نکوخوان که کار موبدی میسازند از جان
 بدان نسلش ز نیربوسنگ دستور بد آن بر زند و ستاشاد و پر نور
 773 بود بابش دهول ای مرد با ساز ازین نسل و ازین نامش بکن ناز

تمتہ تمام

شد

قصه آتش

ورهرام

1 Samoom = sultry wind, simoon. 2 Khuzāni = autumnal.

4 Ma'mur = prosperous.

3 Masrur = joyful.

IV

A FREE VERSION OF THE QISSEH-I
ZARTÛSHTIÂN-I HINDÛSTÂN

The author, at first, invokes God and praises Him: God created water over a bed of land. He came into Existence out of His Muni-
 Invocation, cc.1-28. fidence. He is incomparable (yagâneh) and causeless (bi-bahâneh) *i.e.* self-created. All existent things will pass into non-existence. He alone will exist always. His Nature is pure from the bottom to the top (Earth to Heaven) You call Him God. He keeps the virtuous every moment (*i.e.* always) sweet-tongued. One of the reasons for His praise is the institution of the six Gâhambârs which are named and described by the author.

He describes the birth of Zoroaster who laughed¹ at the time of birth, and terrified the Devs who began practising sorcery against the infant, but to no effect. When he arrived at the age of thirty, he was carried to the Court of God by Bahman. He remained there for 10 years and learnt all secrets with humility. He saw Heaven and the dark Hell. Then God asked him to accept and spread the Mazdayasni religion and gave him (a) 21 Nasks, (b) brilliant fire which burns perpetually without fuel and (c) a branch of the tree of Kashmir² (کشمیر). Zoroaster accepted them and was made to sit on a brilliant throne with these three things. The angels lifted the throne and

Birth of Zoro-
 aster. His visit to
 the Court of God.
 cc (couplets) 29-57.

1 Besides Zoroastrian books, Pliny (Nat. History Bk. VII, s. XVI, 15, and other foreign writers refer to this. *Vide* Jackson's Zoroaster, p. 27.

2 For Kashmir having been mixed up with Kashmar, *vide* my paper on "Cashmere and the Ancient Persians" (Asiatic Papers Part I, p. 110).

brought Zoroaster down upon this earth. On reaching the earth, Zoroaster recited the Ahunavar which saddened the Devil (mal'un).

Zoroaster, coming to the Court of King Gushtasp, blessed the king in the Avesta language. On Gushtasp asking him who he was, he declared himself as a prophet sent here (idar) by God to make the Mazdayasni religion evident (havidâ) and declared (paida) and asked that the sacred fire may be enthroned in a dome, that the branch of the tree may be planted in the ground, and the 21 *Nasks* may be read. On hearing all this, Gushtasp praised Zoroaster and ordered the fire to be enthroned in a dome, ornamented with the portrait of kings like Jamshed, Kaikhushru and other ancient kings. All, and among them Zarir, Nastahan¹ and Lohrasp were gladdened at the sight of the sacred fire. No sooner was the cypress planted, it miraculously seemed to have grown with green leaves on each of which it was written: "O King! Accept this religion and be well-informed". Zoroaster then read the 21 *Nasks* before the King.

After a number of years, time brought on the power of Alexander, and that deceitful king, with the help of Ahriman, captured the kingdom. He oppressed the people, in a way in which none had done before in the world (gehân). His (*i.e.* his dynasty's) regime continued for 300 years.

After that, God had mercy and He brought forth King Ardeshir who restored peace and order. In his time, there appeared Ardai Viraf who went to the Court of

¹ The name may have been miswritten, for Ruintan, and may be for Asfandyâr, whose body was made impregnable to arms by drugs. Or, it may have been miswritten for Nastur.

God. His account is given by Zartusht bin Behram.¹ It tells us what is lawful and what unlawful. O Shapur! be alert in describing this, so that you may acquire the abode of Heaven. Since that time (of Ar dai Viraf), the Mazdayasni religion continued upto the time of Yazdagard.

After Yazdagard, a calamity came over Iran. All Dasturs and Behedins got scattered. They concealed themselves for the sake of religion.

After Yazdagard.
cc. 103-39.

For 100 years they remained in Kohistan.

When difficulties came there also from the Jud-dins (non-Zoroastrians) all the wise men went to the city of Hormaz. Among them, there was a wise Dastur versed in astrology and prognostications (*ramel*). He predicted a misfortune, if they stayed there, and advised departure to India. Thus, they went on board the ships, provided with goods and provisions by the Behedins. All the Mobads sat together there. In the voyage, they were overtaken by a storm. They prayed to God for safety and took a vow that, if they reached the shore of India safely, they would erect and consecrate there a Fire-temple. Their prayer was accepted through the good fortune (*yamn*) of A tash Behram.

A favourable gentle (*sabâ*) wind set in, and contrary (*i.e.*, unfavourable) winds were agitated (*ramideh* or opposed). Performing *kusti* (sacred thread), they thanked God and landed safely on the shore of Diu, where they lived for five years. Then, on the advice of a pious Mobad who prognosticated, they emigrated from there to Gujarat.

Arrival at Diu.
cc. 140-145.

1 For this book, *vide* (a) "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarâtusht Nama) de Zartusht-i Behram ben Pajdu, par Frederic Rosenberg" (1904). (b) પેગમબર સાહેબ અશો જરતોશતના જનમારાની એહવરાની ...તરજુમો". (c) "Vie de Zoroastre" by Anquetil du Perron, in his Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie II, pp. 1-70.

They came to Gujarat where ruled a wise chief named Jâdi-Rânâ. All were delighted to land at the place. Their Dastur went before the King with excellent presents and gifts and expressed their condition of distress, and asked for permission to live there, saying that they had come there for the sake of their religion. They had heard of his goodness towards his subjects, and so, they had come there with pleasure. The King, who was pleased to hear what the Dastur said, was pleased with his appearance. But, looking to the stature and features of his people, he got a little frightened about the stability of his throne (lest they may one day think of taking it away from him). At first, he wanted to know something about their religion. The Dastur explained and relieved his mind of any fears about them and assured him, that he would see no evil in them and that they would be his friends. He added that they were worshippers of God (*Yazdânparast*) and had descended from Jamshed, that they respected the Sun, the Moon, Water, Fire and products of Earth and had respect for all the good creation of God; that they followed the customs of the religion of Zoroaster. The King then consented and asked them to choose a place in his country. They chose a beautiful spot for their residence and named it Sanjan.

After some time, they asked the King's permission to found an Atash-Behram. The King immediately gave it. They sent two Mobads to Persia to bring from Khorasan things of ritual (*alât*) for the consecration of the sacred fire. These were brought and the sacred Fire was consecrated and founded.

Three hundred years after this event, they began to scatter and to go to various parts of India. Some went to Bânkânir and some to Broach, Anklisar (Anklesar), Khamba-

Arrival at San-
jan. cc. 145-179.

Founding a Fire-
temple. cc. 180-196.

Dispersion and
Distribution of Pan-
thaks. cc 197-223

yat and Naosari. One day, the wise men, who were at Sanjan, met together and resolved to make an ecclesiastical division of the places where the Behedins lived. They made the following five divisions: (1) Sanjan, from the river Pâr¹ to the river Dantora, the laymen of which division were under the ecclesiastical rule (*hokam*) of the Mobads of Sanjan. (2) Naosari, from the river Pâr to the river of Bariâv. (3) Gudarêh, (Godavreh), the Godârians² of which division were to officiate from Bariâv to Anklesar (Ankleser). (4) Broach, from Anklesar to Khambayat (Cambay) was the limit of the Bharuehas. (5) Khambayat. This division was made with a view to avoid quarrels and dissensions.³ The Mobads of one division did not enter into another division for the performance of any religious service.

After a few years, the country of Sanjan was pawned⁴

The Portuguese or pledged into the hands of the King
and the transfer of of the Farangis (*i.e.* the King of Por-
Bulsar. cc. 224-33. tugal). All the wise men there got
frightened.⁵ So, they wrote to the Naosari Mobads request-

1 The river near the town of Pardi (Pâr-nadi).

2 The words Goudâreh and Goudârian may perhaps be derived from Persian گود or گودال, a low-lying place. Perhaps they were so-called from their country being a plain, without any river or mountain.

3 For a literal translation of the couplets on the subject of the division, *vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees", p. 16-17.

4 Giraw or girao = pawn, pledge; cf. Gujarati ગિરવ.

5 This is an allusion to the intolerance of the Portuguese in the matter of religion. *Vide* my "A Few Events in the History of the Parsees and their Dates", pp. 23-35. Their intolerance seems to have driven away some Parsees from that part of the country to another, and so, the Mobads at Sanjan had fewer laymen under their parish from whom they could gain their maintenance. So, they asked for the favour of an addition to their division. The events do not seem to be in a proper chronological order. The Portuguese occupation was a later event than that of the sack of Sanjan by Mahmud Begarhâ.

ing them, on account of the shortage of income (*tangi*), to transfer Bulsar (which was on the other side of the Pâr river and hence under the jurisdiction of the Naosari priests) from their limit to the limit of Sanjan. The Bhagaria Mobads of Naosari thereupon met together and then resolved to give the town of Bulsar to the Mobads of Sanjan. Two hundred years passed over this event. Then, there remained few families at Sanjan.

When 700 Yazdezhardi passed (after the event of the arrival from Persia), a calamity came over Sanjan. - The Hindu king heard of the coming of the people of Islam and got frightened. A king, named Sultan Mahmud, heard that there was a prosperous Raja at Sanjan. He called one of his Vazirs, named Alaf Khan, before him and asked him to invade Sanjan. When the Raja heard of this, he got frightened and called all the Mobads and Behedins before him and reminded them that his forefather had given them (*i.e.* their forefathers) shelter. So, he now asked them to help him in his difficulty by putting on arms and thus repay the previous act of gratitude. They unanimously consented to help the Raja and asked him to be free from anxiety. They said: "As long as we have life in our body, we will not turn away our face from the enemy." The Raja was pleased to hear this and gave them special dresses (*khalat*). One thousand four hundred persons came forward to fight. To make the matter short, let it be said, that there was a very hard fight, which, in the end, ended in the defeat of the Raja's army and the Behedins. Sanjan was devastated and the Hindu Raja himself was killed. The defeated Mobads and Behedins¹ all went to a mountain, named Baharât, and remained there for 12 years.

1 In some places, by "Behedins", we have to understand Parsees in general, and in some, the laymen in particular.

Then, from there they came to Bansdah and brought, there the Atash Behram with them. Carrying the Sacred Fire to Naosari, after short stays at Bah-rût and Bansdah. cc. 268-331. Fourteen years passed in this way. Then, a good pious Behedin, named Shah Changa bin Asa, of Naosari, went with some other good men to Bansdah to wor-

ship at the Fire-temple. A few months after this, Changa Asa thought that he may bring the Sacred Fire to Naosari and locate it there. He convened a meeting of the Anjuman of Naosari for the consideration of the question and all agreed; but the Mobads represented, that there was an agreement of old that the Mobads of each district shall officiate in their respective districts only and so they (the Sanjana Mobads) would not come. Changa said to them that the Mobads there were in a perverse state¹ and so he would take them there and show to both (*i.e.* to the Mobads of Sanjan and those of Naosari) their respective proper paths (*i.e.* spheres of sacerdotal action). So, there would be no disputes. Nobody will interfere with each other without permission (*bi-razâ*). The Mobads were pleased with this arrangement. They then, in the company of Changa Shah, went to the Fire-temple (*nazd-i Vahram*, at Bansdah) and brought the sacred Fire to Naosari² and

1 *Kaj-rui* (lit, crooked face), perverseness.

2 *Kisseh-i Sanjan* gives, as an additional cause, the fact that Changa Shah also represented, that the presence of the sacred Fire in their midst would save them the trouble of going to Bansdah every year in the month of Adar, specially sacred to Fire, which fell during the rains. Here, a marginal Gujarati note runs thus, સવત ૧૪૭૫ ની રોજ ૨૬ મા. ૬ સને ૭૮૮ હીજરી અખાડ સુદ ૫) ને યુધે નો-જારી લાવીઆ હતા. The word "Hijri" is evidently wrong. It is the Yazdagardi year 788 that would correspond with Samvat 1475. Thus, the writer of the marginal note gives 788 as the year, when this *Qisseh* gives it as 785

enthroned it in a good house,¹ specially vacated for the purpose. Three leading Mobads (from Sanjan), who had accompanied the sacred Fire, attended to it as its appointed (muwakkal) guardians. Their names were Nākan Rām, Khārshīd Kayāmuddīn and Chāndnā Sayar. They went with their families. The year of this event was 785 Yazdagardi.²

Then, Changa Shah called together the Bhagariā Mobads (of Naosari) and those of Sanjan and, referring to the five divisions of sacerdotal work, pointed out to them their respective works. The Sanjan Mobads were to attend to, and serve (khadmat), the Sacred Fire (and have all the proceeds of the offerings) and were not to perform any religious function in connection with the living or the dead, which it was the function of the Bhagariā Mobads of Naosari to perform. The Sanjana Mobads were pleased with this arrangement and a written agreement (nabisht-khwān) was made.

After several years, the Sanjānas turned away from this arrangement and raised dissensions. They fostered, among the Behdins, hatred (ghall) for the Bhagariā Mobads. They combined with the laymen and made matters difficult for the Bhagariās. Disputes (āhang) arose between the laymen and the Bhagariā Mobads, and men on both sides were killed in the fight. The laymen lodged complaints with voices of resentment (kudurat) at Surat (the then headquarters of Government) with the help of the Desais of Surat. The Nawab sent a Police-officer³ to Naosari to

1 During one of my visits to Naosari, I was once pointed out a house, near the newly built house of Dr. Jahangir Byramji. Dordi, as the house of the Fire-temple.

2 Vide my "Few Events in the History of the Parsees" for my view of the proper date.

3 Jaswal for *جاسوال* or *جاسور* "Horseman, attendant upon a man of rank : a state-messenger, a police officer" (Steingass's Dictionary p. 1531). Perhaps a corruption of *جاسور*.

fetch the accused from there.¹ He came to Naosari and arrested and carried to Surat many priests (adharvan) and presented them before the Governor. There lived at this time a good Behdin, named Modi Kuvarji, at Surat. The other priests of Surat also appeared before the Modi and with him went to the court of the Governor. The Modi represented that there was a mutual fight and persons on both sides were killed and no side (intentionally) sought each other's blood. He got acquittal for all.

Afterwards, when the Behdins again committed a wrongful act (and a quarrel arose), all were released, but twelve were sent to jail and were tied with ropes (zarād). They remained long in prison. The laymen for a long time annoyed (lit. oppressed) the priests. Then, they proposed to the priests, that they (the latter) may pass a writing that the laymen may be pleased (i.e. be at liberty) to have the services of any Mobad they liked. The Mobads accepted that, and passed a writing.² The laymen spent a good deal of money at the time. Thereafter, the twelve priests

1 *The Parsi Prakash* (I, p. 19) describes the event and gives the dates and names of the parties, on the authority of a document signed by Kaji Audin Ushmani. In the preceding year, i.e. 1685 A.C., two agreements, confirming the arrangement previously made at the time when the Sacred Fire was brought to Naosari, were entered into between the Sanjana and Bhagariā priests. For a full translation of this part of the Qisseh, for Anquetil du Perron's account of the events, and for Kuvarji Modi etc., vide my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees," pp. 73-78.

2 *The Parsee Prakash* I, p. 846, thus takes a note of this event under the date, 8th February 1687:— “જયે વર્ષે નવસારીમાં થયેલી મોડી મારામારીને લીધે ત્યાંના જેહુદીનો શોરાખજ અસપુજ. પટેલ નોશરવાનજ મેહેરજ, હોરાજી કોકોબાદ, કાકરા આસદીન, જીવજી બહમનજ, ભાઈજ શાગર, લીબરા રાંમા તથા સમસત જેહુદીનોએ ભગરીઆ મોબેદો પાસેથી એક લેખ કરાવી લીધો હતો કે..... ”

were released. The Sanjana priests were all pleased by this result because the laymen had succeeded. Then, the Sanjana Mobads desired to officiate at the houses of all laymen. The Bhagaria Mobads heard this news from all quarters. Then they said to the Sanjana Mobads that if they would thus try to acquire for performance the liturgical work of all the laymen, there would again be quarrel and strife. The Sanjana Mobads thereupon desisted. Then the laymen, in consultation with the Sanjana Mobads called a Mobad, Minocher Homji by name, and entrusted to him their work of performing the religious services.¹ The Bhagaria Mobads then disassociated this Mobad from their class. After some time (with a view to avoid further disputes), the laymen, the Sanjana Mobads and the Bhagaria Mobads came to some terms, because, formerly, the Bhagariâs were performing the religious ceremonies, both for the dead and the living, among the Sanjana Mobads. (The author says that the matter of the state of affairs is long and that, if described in full, will be tiresome to the reader (qâri), and so, he shortens it).

Then after some time, there came into prominence a brilliant man (lit. a head) by name Desai
 Bhagariâs and Desâi Khurshedji. Khurshid good-faced and good-natured
 cc. 387-392. like the sun and famous. O God! keep
 him happy and brilliant. To the Bhagaria Mobads, he was
 as it were a pearl (durr). He helped them.

(To be continued.)

1 The *Parsee Prakash*, I, p. 846, thus takes a note of this event:
 "નવસારી મધે ઉપલી મારા મારી તથા ખુના મરજીને લીધે ત્યાંનાં
 બેહેદીનો ઘણા ઉશકેરાયા હતા, અને તેઓએ એજ વખતે ભગરીઆ મોબેદોના
 ખર્ચના કુટુંબના એક મોબેદ એ. મનોચેહર હોમજીને પોતાની પક્ષમાં લઈ
 ભગરીઆ મોબેદોથી છુટો પાડી એક બુદ્ધી કરેમેહર તેના પોતાનાજ ધરમાં
 ફેરાવી આપી, અને ત્યાં તે તથા જે કોઈ મોબેદ તેને મલતા થાય તેમની
 માસે પોતાને ત્યાંની સર્વે દીન ધર્મની કીર્તિ કરાવવાનો બંદોબસ્ત કર્યો હતો."

EXCAVATIONS AT SUSAN IN 1929.¹

By J. M. UNVALA, PH.D.

The Parsis of Bombay, who are taking a special interest in these recent years in everything that concerns Persia, the land of their ancestors, have not neglected to participate in scientific researches in Persia. Certain rich Parsis, who had generously helped European savants in their archæological work in Persia, granted me at the end of 1928 a good sum of money, for which I feel deeply thankful to them, to continue the work of excavations at Susa, which I had begun in 1927 with the permission of the French Ministry of Public Instruction. This permission was kindly renewed for the past season. I was, therefore, able to commence the work of excavations on the 30th January 1929, which I finished on the 26th March 1929.

At first, I began my work on the tepe^h called Būlahyā, situated about three kilometres south of Susa. It is a monticule, rather conic in shape, with a maximum diameter of fifty metres at its base and an altitude of about fifteen metres above the plain. It was in its vicinity that we excavated one day in 1927, following the discovery of a fragment of a human mask, pertaining to an anthropoid sarcophagus of the Parthian period, and discovered about half a dozen sarcophagi of the anthropoid type of the same epoch, lying nearly on the surface of the ground. They were in such a deplorable condition and so unfit for transport to the castle, that we had to content ourselves

¹ The original report in French has been published in "Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale," 1929, Vol. XXVI, No. III, pp. 188-142.

only with their photographs and with several small terra-cotta vases, which were helpful in determining their date.

Three days' work of excavations on the Tepeh Būlahyā proved fruitless. In the trench which I opened on the summit of the tepeh from east to west, and which I carried to an uniform depth of 1 m. 50, I came across nothing but earth, apparently appertaining to the natural soil. Still it was as hard and as compact as the beaten earth, which I found later in my work on a small elevation, situated at a short distance north of the tepeh. This fact and the presence, although very rare, of fragments of vases lying at the foot of the tepeh led me to entertain hopes of the discovery of the ceramics of the Parthian, Sassanian and Arab epochs. These hopes proved utterly barren. There are two explanations of the total absence of the vestiges of the civilisations of these three epochs: firstly, that this tepeh is nothing else but a natural monticule emerging from the plain of Susa like many others in its vicinity; secondly, that it was at first only a slight natural elevation, surmounted by a military construction of crude bricks of the Sassanian period, whose ruins contributed to raise its height. The first explanation seems to me to be very probable. The presence of the fragments of vases would then indicate inhumation of the dead with funeral vases. Be it what it may, the short time at my disposal and infructuous expenses forced me to abandon this trench.

There is in the vicinity of this tepeh a place also called Tepeh Būlahyā, which forms an island, 45 m. by 25 m. in relief, in a barley-field. In the course of my work on this spot I noticed that it was employed like many other tepehs in its vicinity for burial of the dead in Parthian times, in about the beginning of the Christian era.

The trench, which I opened here, attained at the close of the work a length of 18 m. 50 and a breadth of 5 m.

I found in it twelve anthropoid sarcophagi. Most of them were more or less damaged by exposure to natural agents like wind and rain, which had previously washed off the earth under which they were buried. The thickness of this earth was nearly 2 m. near the centre of this elevation. The sarcophagi were placed generally one at the foot of the other, and oriented 15° east of the magnetic meridian. In the case of the three pairs of funeral urns, which I found also in this trench at a little distance from these sarcophagi, I noticed a marked variation in this orientation. They were oriented, *viz.* 10° west of the magnetic meridian. Their description will be given below.

The length of the sarcophagi varies between 1 m. 50 and 2 m. and their maximum breadth at the shoulders varies between 0 m. 45 and 0 m. 65. They were made on the spot of clay mixed with chopped straw and very badly abaked. They are, therefore, very brittle, especially on account of the clumsiness of their shapes. The thickness of their bottom is often less than that of their sides, which is about 0 m. 05. The imperfect baking has given them a light yellow colour, sometimes greenish. When the baking is perfect, as in the case of the second sarcophagus with the human mask, the colour becomes even whitish, and the brittleness is also reduced. Some of these sarcophagi have the shape of a shallow bath-tub, with the maximum depth of 0 m. 20.

Among these sarcophagi five merit our special attention, particularly on account of their shapes. The first, although very simple, had a fragmentary lid, whose upper half corresponding to the head and shoulders, was missing; the lower half was remarkable for a characteristic slightly raised curvature near the feet, representing the feet of the deceased enveloped in the shroud, which reminded us of the lids of Egyptian and Sidonian sarco-

phagi. The second and the third sarcophagi had lids formed of two pieces, slightly bent like tiles, which fitted exactly their sides. The brittleness of the materials of which they were made and their heavy weight made the two-pieces lids absolutely necessary. The lid of the second sarcophagus had a border, 0 m. 02 broad, marked by a line incised before baking running all around it. The upper half of the lid of the third sarcophagus had besides the border a sort of two wings, marked by two curved lines incised before baking, which we found also on the lids of the sarcophagi with masks; the lower half had two deep prints of dog's feet. The last two sarcophagi were not only interesting on account of their lids, but also on account of their shapes. One of them had a shape really bizarre. Its sides had near the top six small rounded protuberances, 0 m. 015 in diameter, like knobs, two at the shoulders, two near the waist, and two near the feet, which reminded us of the knobs of certain Phœnician sarcophagi. These protuberances became thinner and thinner as they reached the bottom of the sarcophagus, and formed a sort of a five-stepped moulding. The sarcophagus was slightly pointed at the head. It provided with the mask of the lid, which was 0 m. 17 shorter than the sarcophagus itself, and was raised above it by about 0 m. 05 to 0 m. 10, a natural effect of a woman wearing a pointed bonnet. The breadth of the sarcophagus at the feet was greater than usual; it was 0 m. 31, i.e. nearly half of its maximum breadth 0 m. 65, whereas all the others had the breadth at the feet one-sixth of their maximum breadth. As regards the lid, it also was formed of two unequal pieces, and had the border, 0 m. 02, like the lids described above. It was slightly bent like a tile. The upper half of the lid had a human mask in relief, very crudely shaped by the hand. The forehead is very low, and nearly covered by curled hair, indicated by five rows of small incised circles. A

dent separates the prominent eyebrows. The eyes are large and amygdoloid. The ears are treated in a very rudimentary fashion; they are indicated by two small curves slightly in relief. These are decorated with two small incised circles representing holes for passing ear-rings, which are missing. The mouth is small. The chin is not at all marked. Further, the upper half of the lid has the two wings, which we have already noticed on the lid of the second sarcophagus described above. The curvatures of the wings begin at the shoulders and end near the middle of the body. They approach each other at a straight line parting from the nose and forming an axis of symmetry of the body. The lower half had got no decoration except two deep prints of sheep's feet on the right. I shall give below an explanation of these prints and of the masks of the sarcophagi. The last of the sarcophagi was the most beautiful and the most artistic. It was also the best preserved of all. Its shape was purely anthropoid, exactly like that of Egyptian mummy-cases. I found in 1927 a sarcophagus similar to it at a distance of about a hundred metres to north-east of the place under excavation. Its shape was very elegant; its sides were a little bent inwards, exactly towards its middle. At the feet they made a saillie of 0 m. 13 towards the bottom. The upper half of its lid has the human mask, similar to that described above. But its face is smaller and the wings are treated differently. They do not form two curves, like the two branches of an italic X; they are placed rather like a Y, each of whose branches has two rows of small incised circles. The upper half of the lid has, moreover, on the left three short deeply impressed lines, which are found also on the same side on its lower half. Several pieces of the left side of the mask were found missing.

Every one of these sarcophagi was protected by half a dozen big jars of the Partho-Greek type, placed in a

slantic position on the beaten earth with which it was covered. These jars were originally empty, but little by little were filled with earth, which had found its way into them from above. Their own weight and that of the earth had crushed the fragile lids of the sarcophagi. Still I could save two lids, repairing them on the spot temporarily with plaster of Paris, and collect all fragments of two other lids, one without and the other with the wings, and those of two other sarcophagi as well.

I found near these sarcophagi four pairs of big funeral urns; every one of them was 0 m. 75 high, with a maximum diameter of 0 m. 81 and the diameter of the mouth 0 m. 70, two small vases with trifolium mouths and a terracotta lamp. Thus this necropolis seemed to have been very poor in small ceramics and other funeral objects. Further, I found here two tombs of a totally new type, which was intermediate between the double urn-tombs and the long jar-tombs of the Parthian and Sassanian periods. One was 1 m. 40 by 0 m. 35 and the other 1 m. 73 by 0 m. 47. They were lying horizontally on the ground. They were composed of two pieces, and thus resembled the double urn-tombs. They were very roughly made by the hand on the spot and were more or less flattened in the kiln. The second tomb had eight holes in its bottom, four in each piece at well-measured distances. These pieces had traces of a matting on the inside and of straw on the outside on which they were placed to dry before baking. The irregularity of their shape and the traces of the matting lead us to think that each piece was shaped on a mould, improvised by folding a matting. Moreover, I found that these two pieces, which were made of the ordinary clay mixed with chopped straw, were subjected to different temperatures; one had turned in consequence greenish and

very brittle, whereas the other reddish and hard. The latter had further a thin layer of white slip.

The sarcophagi as well as the funeral urns contained very few bones and no personal ornament, except a small gold ear-ring undoubtedly of a child. This paucity of bones leads us to consider them as *astodāns* or ossuaries, perhaps of the Parthians themselves. It is not surprising to find among a people so eclectic as the Parthians the use of anthropoid sarcophagi, borrowed from the Egyptians and the Phœnicians. It is now admitted that the Parthians followed as best as possible the injunctions concerning the dead prescribed by later Zoroastrianism. If we consider, therefore, these sarcophagi and these funeral urns as *astodāns* of the Parthians, we have hardly any grounds to believe that this necropolis was violated in later times.

We know well the sarcophagi of different epochs of the history of Susa found in the ruins of this ancient city, but the sarcophagi described above remain upto date unique in the objects discovered at Susa. They are well dated by the accompanying ceramics as pertaining to the Partho-Greek period, about the first century B.C. The discoveries of coins and inscriptions accompanying sarcophagi of this type will one day solve definitely the questions of their exact date and their origin.

The shape of these sarcophagi is undoubtedly influenced by that of the Egyptian mummy-cases, which were generally made of carton. It is, therefore, that their sides are often slightly bent inwards, and their lids are always tile-shaped. They were the Phœnicians who first borrowed the use of the sarcophagi from the Egyptians. They liked to have them in stone, preferably in white marble. The Egyptians represented the dead as laying on his own sarcophagus. This idea also was borrowed by the Phœnicians, but in ancient times they represented in relief on the lid of

a sarcophagus only his head, the whole body being considered by them to be enveloped in the shroud, and therefore, not at all represented in relief on the lid, but simply indicated by its tile-shape. It was due to the Greek influence, that they represented the dead in his natural size in relief on the lid. In the case of our sarcophagi the upper half of the body of the dead is visible, the lower half is considered to be enveloped in the shroud. The border on the lid, which we have already mentioned, has no other purpose but to indicate the contours of the dead lying on his sarcophagus. All sarcophagi described above have lids composed of two parts, the upper half of which is decorated either with the wings only or with the wings and the masks. Both the masks are beardless, and are surely those of women, as we see clearly from the long and abundant hair of the second mask. As regards the wings, we find them on a Punic sarcophagus from Carthage, that of the priestess (cf. *G. Contenau* *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, Paris 1926, p. 241, fig. 91). They are the wings of the great Egyptian goddess, Isis or Nephtis. Of course, not only the treatment of the wings on the sarcophagi in question, but also that of the masks can hardly stand the comparison with that magnificent art and that finesse, which are displayed in the portrait of the priestess on the Carthaginian sarcophagus.

If we compare our masks, particularly the second one, with the terracotta masks, especially those reproduced on pl. CCII of *Paul Gauckler*, *Nécropole Punique de Carthage*, Paris 1915, vol. I, we are led to think that the ornament which we call *wings* are nothing else but flowing hair curiously stylised, but still clearly indicated by small incised circles. Or do they represent the two flaps of the lid of a metal sarcophagus, perhaps of plumb, which covered only the body of the dead leaving the face open? Then

the small circles would represent nails. In the absence of precise materials for comparison all explanations of these ornaments given above remain only hypotheses.

Finally, those prints of the feet of dog and sheep and those short lines on the lids of the sarcophagi refers probably to a magic belief. A perfect work, without the least defect, can draw on itself the wicked eye, if it is not protected by a blemish or by an inappreciable defect. This is a belief widely spread among many oriental peoples.

During the course of excavations in the City of Artisans on a small mound, opposite to the Tell of the Royal City, where I widened the trench opened by me in 1927 (see *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. XXV, No II, p. 88) I found several long funeral jars of the Sassanian epoch, containing skeletons of children. These jars were found sometimes broken near the neck in order to insert the body, and then closed by a big terracotta bowl. They were lying horizontally on the ground. I found in this trench a well of sweet water. The water-level was 8 m. 50 below the top of the mound.

Two days' work in the vicinity of this mound was rewarded by the discovery of a funeral vault of crude bricks, in which I found a jar-tomb of a child pertaining to the Sassanian epoch. The vault was most probably opened during the course of excavations several years ago. It was at least 4 m. wide and nearly a metre high. The bricks measured 0 m. 325 x 0 m. 325 x 0 m. 08. Further, I found here many fragments of the very fine Sassanian ceramics, characterised by its thinness and whitish and greenish colours, which show clearly the revival of the ceramic traditions of the Style No. I and the Style No. II of ancient Susa.

Three weeks were sufficient to clear the ruins of a

house of the eleventh century A.D. in the ancient Arab city. I opened in it four rooms, in one of which I found a big Arab jar with a fine blue glaze and linear decorations, and in another an Arab copper ewer. I emptied near these rooms two Arab wells, built in with burnt bricks. One of them contained fragments of Arab vases, many representing the so-called *Gebri* pottery. Several jar-tombs of children pertaining to the Parthian period were found in one of these rooms at a depth of 2 m. 55. The vestiges of the Sassanian times were completely missing. Still several fragments of terracotta figurines of nude women and animals of this epoch were found in the Arab remplissage on the south side of the house. In the same room near one of the tombs I found a terracotta water-flask of green glaze containing a rich collection of 1434 Parthian silver drachms. As the silver was liberally alloyed with copper the pieces were greatly oxydised. By cleaning with water about fifty coins I could ascertain that there were at least twenty different types in this collection, and that most of the coins appertained to the Arsacide kings of Persia, viz. to Orodes I, Pacorus, and Phraates IV, who ruled in the second half of the first century B.C.

Several painted vases, a goblet, two small craters and a cup, of the Style No. I and Style No. II of Susa were excavated during the course of three days' work on the Tell of the Acropolis.

To sum up this short report, my excavations of this season have resulted in the discovery of several new and precious documents of the religious and political history of the Parthians. The sarcophagi described above are, I think, upto date unique of their type.

PROF. HERZFELD'S VIEW AS TO "WHO BUILT THE TAQ-I KESRA".

BY J. M. UNVALA, PH.D.

[In the Geographical Journal of June 1929 in an interesting article headed "Air Photographs of the Middle East" by Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, the writer coming to the description of old monuments round Bagdad said:—
"We pass over innumerable derelict canals, some doubtless mediaeval, others of remote antiquity, till we come to the far-famed Arch of Ctesiphon. It is a huge vault of brickwork, reinforced in parts by beams of teakwood which may still be seen embedded in it. Some idea of its size is given by its shadow, and by the human figures standing on the crown of the arch. The Arabic name, Taj Kisra, relates it to Chosroes; but this means little more than 'Sassanid'. Herzfeld¹ ascribes it to Shapur I (242-272). It formed the open hall of his palace, and is one of the finest surviving examples of Sassanid architecture, whose home is Persia. Close by is the flat wide mound of the city of Ctesiphon, founded as their capital by the Parthians in 150 B.C. and not superseded as capital till after the Muhammadan Conquest."

I had the pleasure of visiting the Taq Kesra or Taq-i Khusro twice in October 1925. When I went to Europe in 1925, a Parsee lady, Bai Ratanbai Edulji Bamji, a sister of the late Mr. Jamshedji N. Tata had told me that she was willing to spend about Rs. 1,00,000 for some reparation of the Taq, if possible. With that

¹ Archæologische Reise im Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet, II, 1920, p. 76.

view I had some correspondence with the Colonial authorities when in London. They had kindly communicated our desire to the British Commissioner of Iraq. When in Bagdad, in October 1925, I had the pleasure of seeing him and that much lamented learned lady, Miss Bell, who was an authority on the subject. After some consultation, we gave up our object as the Iraq Government authorities were kindly doing all the needful to do the necessary repairs and the sum of Rs. 1,00,000 was nothing, if one ever thought of doing full justice to the repairs of the Taq. Under the circumstances, the above view of Prof. Herzfeld that the Taq was not that of Khushro, surprised me and I requested Dr. J. M. Unvala at Paris to kindly send me a summary of Prof. Herzfeld's writing on the subject. I am thankful to him for what he has kindly done and give his brief note here for wider information.

14th January 1930.

EDITOR.]

WHO BUILT TAQ-I KESRA ?

It is commonly believed by the Parsis that the imposing ruins of the Sassanian palatial building, called *Taq-i Kesra*, which are situated on the left bank of the Tigris, thirty kilometres south-east of Bagdad, are those of a palace built by Khushro I, Anoshirvan (531-579 A.D.). This is also the general opinion of western savants. Mr. Marcel Dieulafoy attributes its construction to Khushro I on the authority of Theophylaktos of Simocatta (*L'Art Antique de la Perse*, tome V, p. 63) whereas Firdusi attributes it to Khushro II (590-628 A.D.) (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, Bd. II, page 539). Prof. Herzfeld contradicts this opinion of European savants and attributes it to Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) on the authority of Ibn al-Muqaffa, and particularly archaeological grounds, which he gives at length in *Sarre und Herzfeld, Archaeologische Reise*

in *Euphrat-und Tigris-Gebiet*, Berlin 1920, Vol. II, pp. 50-76. He says:—“(p. 75) Now, as regards these constructions on the Euphratis the question arises, which was the centre from which this distorted art emanates? It is the wonderful city of the desert, Palmyra. It is not only *a priori* probable, but necessary, that this city had, like Persepolis, one of the residences of Salmo-Jamshed, made an immense impression on the Orient, and that it had exercised a definite influence on the architectural art in the regions of the Euphratis and the Tigris. As an evidence of this influence stands before us the façades of Ktesiphon.

The constructions of Palmyra cannot be very remote in time from this Taq-i Kesra.....The latter cannot have been constructed later than the third century A.D. If it were later than this period we could expect a better and more skilful treatment of the motives borrowed from Hellenism.

The Arabs call these ruins the Iwan of the Kisra already in the oldest book that has come down to us.¹ Kisra is here the common appellation of the Sassanides, and not that of one of the two (p. 76) Khusraus. But the luxuriant crop of legends, which sprang up around the figures of these two Khusraus, particularly many moral legends about the justice of Khusrau I, that manifested itself in his conduct towards an old woman during the construction of his palace, led soon to the belief that the Iwan was built by Khusrau I.² This is purely a legend. Thus the more correct report that a Shapur was its builder was rationally harmonised in different ways. Shapur II is generally called Dhu 'l-Aktaf (e.g. in Ibn

1 Also the modern name Taq-i Kisra occurs early in Rashid al-Din. *Histoire des Mongols*, ed. Quatrimere, p. 266 *et seq.*

2 But also Khesrau II? Comp. e.g. Yaqubi, Yaqut, Qazwini Hmadallah.

Qutaibah, Ibn al-Khatib (Masudi)). It is quite evident from a quotation in Yaqut that this appellation causes very frequently a confusion between these two glorious princes of the early period of the dynasty. According to this quotation¹ Hamzah al-Isfahani says :—I have read in a book translated by Ibn al-Muqaffa (Rozbih) that the Iwan, which is still existing in Madain was built by Shapur I, son of Ardashir. But this is not the case, as the Mobedhan Mobedh Umedh, son of Ashwahasht, has assured me. Rather al-Mansur abu Ja'far destroyed that palace, and that which is called Iwan to-day is built by Kisra (II) Abarwiz''. Now Ibn al-Muqaffa Rozbih (died about 140 A.H.-757 A.D.) is our best authority, and he is also the translator of the Sassanian chronicles from Pahlavi into Arabic; that book quoted by Hamzah is the Sassanian Khudai-nameh, the principal source of all informations on the Sassanians. This original document had thus preserved the report that Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) was the builder of the Iwan. In comparison with this the report of Umedh, the contemporary of Hamzah, which is based on conclusions *a posteriori*, is worthless.² In the description of the destruction of the Sassanian palace by al-Mansur (or al-Rashid) all sources are unanimous with the exception of this Umedh on this point that the destruction was not carried out and that Mu'tahid and Muktafi had not laid their hands on this palace, but on the white palace in the Madina al-Atiqah. The objection of the Mobedhan Mobedh, not to doubt whose authority is a characteristic of Hamzah,

1 Yaqut I 425. Hamzah lived 280-360 A.H. Comp. E. Mittwoch *Die Literarische Tätigkeit Hamzah al Isbahani's in den Mitt. des Semin. f. Orient Sprachen* 1900, XII, II, The quotation of Yaqut is presumably from an extant work *Kitab al-Muwazanah*.

2 On this personality, comp. F. Justi *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marbuerg 1895, page 333, see under *Umid* and p. 5 see under *Admet*.

against the old Sassanian tradition is thus baseless, and the trustworthiness of the latter is thus proved beyond doubt. It is unanimous with what we could expect and must demand from the researchers the history of its architecture.

The palace of Ardashir Khurrah-Firuzabad was built by Ardashir I (226-242 A.D.) even before he became Great King, thus before 226 A.D. The palace of Ctesiphon was built by his son Shapur I (242-272 A.D.) at all events in the beginning of his reign, as Ardashir had already chosen Ctesiphon as his perpetual residence. Iraq and Fars should not be put on an equal basis. With the shifting of the seat of government to the West the art which had truly preserved the old traditions in the distant province of Fars, opens its gates to the influences of the superior West. Firuzabad and Ctesiphon stand against each other, and the differences between them is a symbol for the Sassanian art. ”

A NOTE ON "MEMOIRES DE LA
MISSION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE DE
PERSE, TOME XXI. INSCRIPTIONS
DES ACHÉMÉNIDES À SUSE PAR V.
SCHEIL, PARIS 1929 (101 PP. ET XIII PLANCHES)"¹

BY J. M. UNVALA, PH.D.

Revd. Father V. Scheil gives a very important and interesting contribution to the study of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenides by publishing in the XXI Volume of *Memoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, the inscriptions found in excavations at Susa, carried on by M. Dieulafoy, M. J. de Morgan and M. R. de Mecquenem on behalf of the French Government since 1897. The merit of the work of this French savant lies not only in publishing these inscriptions, but also in restoring many of them by help of fragments of several duplicates, and thus giving us an idea of the epigraphic activities of the Achæmenian Sovereigns of the inscriptions in their original texts. It is regrettable that there remain still many lacunæ in several inscriptions, sometimes in essential passages. As these inscriptions were as a rule in three versions, Persian, Babylonian and Anzanite, these lacunæ could be often filled up by their comparison, and thus some minor details of the *general* text of these inscriptions could be restored. Herr F. H. Weissbach has incorporated in his "*Die Keilschriften der Achemeniden*", Leipzig 1911, eleven fragments of inscriptions from Susa, which had been published by M. Dieulafoy and M. J. de Morgan.

¹ For an excerpt from this volume cf. "The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenides found at Susa" by J. M. Unvala, Ph.D., Paris 1929.

The inscriptions published in this volume are, apart from many epigraphic peculiarities which they offer, very interesting, as all of them speak of the architectural activity of Darius I and his successors in Susa. There are in all thirty inscriptions, most of them fragmentary, twenty-two of Darius I Hystaspes, five of Xerxes, two of Artaxerxes II and one of Artaxerxes III. They are found on various materials, like baked clay tablets, baked bricks with or without the glaze and marble, mostly pertaining to the bases of columns. We learn from inscriptions No. 1 of Darius I and No. 29 of Artaxerxes II, that it was Darius I, who had constructed the palace and the Apadana at Susa. His successor seems to have added to these other minor constructions, or most probably kept the palace and the Apadana of Darius I in constant repairs.

The first inscription is a very interesting document concerning the foundation of the palace of Susa by Darius I in about 517-16 B.C., when Elam was completely subdued. It was found in the three usual versions, whose texts differed slightly in minor details. The Persian version is stamped on a nicely baked clay tablet measuring 0^m, 265 x 0^m, 22. It is much damaged, especially in important passages. But their texts could be restored by help of fragments of the duplicates chiselled on marble slabs. The clay tablet was found in its natural site, the Tell of the Apadana, whereas fragments of the marble slabs were found dispersed on all different points of the ancient city, on the Tell of the Apadana, the Tell of the Acropolis, the Royal City, etc. The Anizanite version seems to have existed only on marble slabs; the Babylonian version had many duplicates on marble, whose fragments are very consecutive and have an integral aspect.

The document of the foundation of the palace of Susa can be divided into seven paragraphs according to its

contents:—§ 1) Homage to Ahuramazda by Darius, § 2) titles of Darius, § 3) royal vocation of Darius and his general activity, § 4) foundation of the palace of Susa, § 5) materials employed in its construction and their places of origin, § 6) names of the principal nations, who collaborated in its construction, § 7) prayer to Ahuramazda and conclusion.

Translation of the Babylonian version of the document.

§ 1) A great God is Ahurmazda, Who has created the heaven, Who has created this earth, Who has created men, Who has given pleasures to men, Who has made Darius king, king of many kings, unique among many chiefs.

§ 2) I am Darius, great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth, son of Hystaspes the Achaemenide.

§ 3) King Darius says:—Ahurmazda, Who is the great God over (all) gods, it is He Who has created me, it is He Who has made me king, it is He Who has given me this great kingdom with handsome men and good horses. With the protection of Ahurmazda when my father Hystaspes and my grandfather Arsamma (Arsama) were still living, Ahurmazda made me king on this earth, Ahurmazda granted me on this whole earth horses and excellent men, and established me as king on this earth. (From that time upto date) I have accomplished the service of Ahurmazda. Ahurmazda is my powerful support, and what He orders me to do is performed and realized by my hand. All that I do, I do with the protection of Ahurmazda.

§ 4) I constructed the palace in Susa. Its ornamentation was brought from afar. The ground was dug out, till I reached the bed of the natural soil. Then the natural soil was dug out. And when the gravel was sufficient and when that spot, which was 40 cubits by 40,

cubits, was dug out, it was filled up with gravel. I built the palace on this gravel.

§ 5) The gravel that was used in filling up the ground dug out and the bricks of the brick-work was supplied by the people of Accad. The cedar-wood employed here was brought from a country called "Mountain" (*i.e.* the mountainous country of Libanon). The people of Ebir-nari brought it. It was brought to Susa through the lands of Babylonia, Karsa and Yavan. The *mismakan*-wood employed here (was brought) from the land of Gandara and.....(and from the land of.....*armana*) (Pers. Vers.). Gold employed here was brought from the lands of Sardes and Bactria. The *lapis* stone and the *sirgaru* (serpentine) employed here were brought from the land of Sogdiana. Hematite employed here was brought from the land of Khorasmia. Silver employed here was brought from the land of Egypt. The decoration of the reliefs of the palace was brought from the land of Yavana. Ivory employed here was brought from the lands of Kus, India and Arakhosia. The marble columns employed here were brought upto here from a town called Aphrodisias of the country of Ogiyia. The Yavanites and the Sardians brought them.

§ 6) Names of artisans who have worked (on the construction of the palace) according to their countries: the Medes and the [Egyptians (Pers. Vers.) have constructed this residence (Pers. Vers.) The Sardians and the.....made this. The Babylonians and the Yavanites made the.....made the (decoration) of the whole of this palace.]

§ 7) King Darius says:—All that I have done at Susa.....against inimical man. I (pray) that Ahurmazda may protect me (against injury (Pers. Vers.)) and my father and my country.

It is interesting to note that Darius became king during the lifetime of his father and grandfather, and that at the time of the completion of the palace about 517-16 B.C. his father was living.

Inscriptions Nos. 13-16 giving the usual titles of Darius I were found on four fragments of colossal statues of a human headed bull and of an archer decorating probably the gates of the palace. Nos. 15 and 16 are fragmentary.

From inscription No. 5 which is on the sockle of a column of the Apadana we learn that Darius calls the Apadana "palace of columns". The building must have got a colossal proportion when it was finished. Seeing his own master-piece and doubting the inconsistency of its fortune, Darius requests all those who might read his inscription No. 7 on one of the sockles of the columns not to judge him severely and accuse him of exaggeration.

It is from inscription No. 28 of Artaxerxes II that we learn the name of the palace of Susa. He calls it the "Paradise of life". His second inscription No. 29 has been well known since the time of Loftus. It mentions the reconstruction of the Apadana of Darius, which was burnt down by fire in the reign of Artaxerxes I. Artaxerxes II invokes Ahuramazda, Anāhita, and Mithra. Inscription No. 29 has the Babylonian version.

Inscription No. 30 is the second one of Artaxerxes III; the first was found at Persepolis. It says that Artaxerxes III added a minor construction to those of his forefathers. He invokes only Ahuramazda and Mithra.

THE KAIKEYAS—AN IRANIAN TRIBE.

BY JAINATH PATI, ESQR.

I have prepared a long paper, rather a book than a paper, entitled "The Kaikeyas—an Iranian Tribe". On submitting it to the editor of this journal, he has, on the advice of an expert, asked me to summarise a few important points of my paper. Hence this brief paper.

(1) Brugmann and others have demonstrated that the original Indo-European *k* becomes *c* under the palatalizing influence of the vowel which is represented by the ambiguous *a* in Sanskrit but *e* in Greek and Latin. This is illustrated by writing those words from those languages which show the change side by side—Sk. *rocate*, Lat. *lucet* (Gune-Comp. Phil., pp. 144-5). We, however, do not always have the corresponding European words. But the law being proved in the known cases, its working can be assumed for those unknown in similar circumstances. Now in the case of the affix *-aka*, which gives us *mocaka*, *rocaka*, *pācaka*, etc., it can be certainly inferred that the connecting *-a-* was originally palatal. It is thus clearly, almost algebraically, proved that *Kīcaka*, the name of a foreign people in the Mahābhārata, is derived from *Kīk*. And according to Hemchandra's Anekārtha-saṃgraha, and other Kōśas, *Kīcaka* is the name of a Daitya or Rākṣas, the later term for the asuras (SWB). The principal *Kīcaka* was a Kaikeya prince and in another place the *Kīcakas* are a sub-tribe of the Kaikeyas (MBh. 1, 6085; 4, 815).

(2) As regards *-āṭa*, no non-Indian equivalent affix can be found, because *ṭ* is a purely Indian sound. So we can know about the nature of its initial vowel by a consideration of its effect in Sanskrit words only. Looking to

śakata, *markata*, (though we have *śaci* from the same √ *śak* (c), under the palatalizing -ī-) it becomes clear, that the initial vowel of -*ata* does not represent any palatal sound. And with this suffix we have *Kikata* reducible to the same *Kik*. The *Kikatas* are said to be not worshipping the Devas and so they are hostilely referred to in the R̥g-veda (3, 53, 14). Their cows are envied by the R̥sis and they cannot be the miserable creatures of Magadha. Besides, they must have been famous for horses, for *Kikata* itself means a horse. The *Kikatas*, then, were some Western Tribe. Besides, there is no other indication in the R̥g-Veda that the R̥sis knew the Eastern Provinces with any degree of familiarity.

(3) *Kekayah* being the name of a people must be a plural. In fact it is so taken by Apte in his Dictionary. Its singular should then be *keki* or *kaiki* (*Kaikayah* is also a variant). As the names of peoples in Sanskrit are very often derived from their country or some eponymous ancestor, it is perfectly pertinent to suppose that *Kaiki* is a derivative of *Kik*, quite regular according to the rules of Panini (4, 1, 92 ; 95). This is supported by the aforementioned derivation of *Kicaka* and *Kikata*.

(4) This connects the Kaikeyas with the Kiks of Iran—the tribe to which Vishtaspa the Patron of Zarathushtra belonged and to whom this name was given by its enemies and later in Pahlavi literature it is by this name that the unbelieving members of this tribe are referred to. But had it been merely sound connection it would not have deserved consideration at our hands. It is however found that it is supported by a host of other circumstances. Can it be supposed that the revolution created by Zarathushtra was quite unknown in India ? Was it of a very small magnitude ? Was the deprecation of the Daeva cult not heard of in India ? Did not the Indians, then, hear of the

nicknames of the principal Iranian tribe who first helped Zarathushtra? Now the only foreign people about whose religion we hear anything from the Vedic records are the Kaikeyas. Their king was Aśvapati—"master of horses"—exactly equivalent to Vishtaspa—"possessed of horses". He only knew about Vaiśvānara—the life, the breath of the Universe—the Great Asura—the Spirit of the Sun.

(5) To the Indians the most despicable thing of the Iranians was naturally their māntra, and this we find personified as the devil-incarnate—the avatāra of the Burning Sun (*Dundubhi*—as the Mahābhārata says) in the maid of the Queen Kaikeyi of the Rāmāyaṇa. At least this much will be conceded that Manthara (a Vedic pronunciation of māntra) was a Kaikeyi word and that identifies the Kaikeyas with the Avestan-speaking people without any ado. (I have further given elsewhere my reasons to hold that the word was imported in India from the Gāthīc-speaking people.)

(6) In the list of the Paisācī dialects, in which Bālhiki is included, Kekayi is called the principal dialect of that group. Now we know that the Pisācas replaced the Vedic Asuras in later literature.

(7) Zarathushtra is said to have defeated Gaotema in discussion. This is in the later Avesta. In the Gāthās the opposing teacher was one Aruna Khrafstra (which Mills equates with Aruna kalpastru). Now in the Vedic literature Uddalaka Aruni Gautama is said to have gone to the Kaikeyas to know about the Vaiśvānara cult which was specially known to their king. There was a discussion in which he with others from India was defeated (Chh. UP. v. 11, 1ff.).

(8) In the Parsi tradition (Desatir, p. 95) it is said that one Senkerakaš from India came to argue with Zarathushtra and was defeated. Exactly the same name ap-

pears to have been borne by one of the companions of Gautama—Sārkārāksya. (It is of interest to remember that *r* and *n* have got one sign in Pahlavi, and so the original either in Desatir or its source might have read Serkerakaš.)

(9) Scholars are agreed that the leader of the opponents of Zarathushtra was one Bendva, mentioned in the Gāthās (Yas. 49, 12). In the Jaiminiya Brahmana, there appears one Asurbinda Auddaki, a son or a disciple (most probably the former, because no second son is mentioned later) of Gautama mentioned above (para 5) (see V. I., vol. I, p. 176). In MBh. (VIII, 13) it is said that the leader of the Kaikeya forces which fought on the side of Duṣāsana, Duryodhana (corresponding to Dussastis, Dusexshatra of the Gāthās—Yas. 32,9; 48,5) was Binda with his brother Anubinda. (It would be complicating the argument to place here all the evidence I have got to show that the central part of the story of the Mahābhārata is taken from an Iranian source probably connected with Ayādgār i-Zarīran. I have briefly referred to them in my article, entitled "The Date of Zoroaster", appearing in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*.)

(10) Similarly Rustam of mighty deeds, the General of Gushtasp (Vishtaspa) appears as Ugrakarma—he of mighty deeds—the leader of those Kaikeyas who were pro-Pandavas (Pandava itself meaning 'white' which is equivalent of Spitama, the sur-(or family) name of Zarathushtra (having four brothers). I have shown elsewhere the identity of Zarathushtra with Yudhisthira (MBh. VIII, 82). Frashahward of Shahnama is translated as Vṛhatkṣetra in MBh. (VI, 44). Maidyo-i maungha (middle-moon-dark-moon) Kṛṣṇa-candra. Or it may have simply degenerated into Mādhava, according to the laws of Inorganic Philology (see JBORS, 1923, p. 190). This latter may appear fantastic at first sight, but when we know that he is an

Assura (a-devih) defeated by Indra on the banks of the Yamunā (RV. 8, 96, 13-15—Sayāna's commentary) an asura in the Atharva-veda (8,6,5), and in Buddhist Pitaka, is said to have been descended (in another geneology preserved in the Harivamśa) from Asura Madhu (? Medhiamazda), and that in the Vedic and Purāṇic literature he is definitely anti-Vedic and anti-Indra, we feel serious over this suggestion. Maidyo-i-maongha disappears from Parsi tradition after Zarathushtra, and appears without his early history in the Chh. Up. and MBh. and preaches doctrines closely allied to Zarathushtra's: (1) Right action as a means of salvation, (2) Divine Messenger, and (3) salvation for all—the first two being not found anywhere in the whole of the Vedic literature including the Upanisads and the latter being opposed to the Brahmin's idea of the Sudras. His teachings are contained (much super-added) in the Gāthās of Bhaga—the term for god among the Iranians (Bhagvad-Gita) and are comparable in some detail with those of Zarathushtra in his Gāthās of the Avesta. In the Chh. Up. which mentions Kṛṣṇa's ethical anti-Vedic (there is hardly any ethical teaching in the Vedic literature—see Keith, RPV, pp. 584 f.), the teachings of the Kaikeya king are also referred to. There too is found (not as of the Kaikeyas) the peculiar doctrine of personal mediation of Zarathushtra at the Cinvat-peretu (Yas. 46. 10). It is said that after the Soul, on death, reaches the Moon from where the roads diverge,

Tat puruṣaḥ amānvah sa enām brahma gamyati

(There is a person superhuman (amānvah), he leads them to Brahman—SBE, I, p. 80 ff.)

Is not Zarathushtra distinctly visible there ?

In the Kauṣītaki Up. (I, 2) the moon is called the door of Heaven *svargasya lokasya dvāram*, while accord-

ing to Ner. (comm. Yas. 46, 10) the bridge to heaven is over R. Candori—a heavenly river.

(11) There are many other details dealt with in my larger essay, but these are the important ones. The one conclusive besides the identity of Asvapati with Vishtaspa, Aurunaxrafastra (Gaotema) with Gautama Uddalaka Āruni and Senkerakaś with Śārkārākṣya, is the fact mentioned in all the readings of the Rāmāyaṇa that the messenger despatched from Ayodhya to the Kekaya country had to pass through Bāl̥hika before he reached their kingdom (R. II, 68, 11-22). And Bāl̥hika is Bactria.

A NOTE ON "PRE-MUSALMAN INDIA".

By S. K. HODIVALA, B.A.

India has a brilliant history of its own and its pre-historic history also is very interesting both from general and scientific points of view. This note proposes to throw a glance on the Pre-Musalman History from a few facts presented by the recent learned and interesting publication of Prof. V. Rangacharya, entitled "History of Pre-Musalman India".

Inquiries into the geological evolution and geographical configuration of India show that early Indians had their own art as depicted in the early drawings and paintings, found in different parts of India. Coming to the Neolithic Age, we find a further evolution of arts, crafts, religion and mode of living of that age. There was no bronze age in India as in China. In southern India the stone age passed on to the iron age direct ; on the other hand in northern India the stone age was followed by a copper age, and then by an iron age.

Mr. C. Brown supposed that iron was introduced into India after the end of the Rigvedic period, namely about 1000 B.C. but copper had been in use several centuries before that date. An interesting question arises as to whether the knowledge of copper (Sanskrit *tamba*, Tamil *sembu*, Telegu *ragi*) was derived from the Tamils and Dravidians of southern India by the Aryans of northern India or *vice versa*. It seems credible that the civilized dwellers of the Sindhu valley were indebted to the Egyptians and the Babylonians for the use of copper, and that from

them the southern Dravidians came to know about the use of this metal.

One of the chief ethnological strata of India was a Turanian population, sometime before 3000 B.C. The aborigines of India soon came under Sumerian influence. The excavations at Mohenjo Daro afford a clear proof of the Sumerian influence on the early Indian art, culture and civilization. So far as the Aryans and Dravidians were concerned there was no perceptible ethnological difference between them; the comparative tallness and fairness of the Aryans were the only distinctive features.

The question of the determination of the age of the composition of the Rigveda is important. As pointed out by Prof. Rangacharya, several savants have studied the question from different view-points. Haug in his translation of the Aitareya Brahmana put the Vedic age somewhere near 2400 B.C. Max Müller fixed it at a comparatively recent date of 1000 B.C. The views of Tilak and Jacobi based on astronomical facts and events mentioned in the Vedic texts indicated the lowest limit to be 2500 B.C. Whitney, Thebaut, Macdonell, Keith and Oldenberg all thought that Max Müller's estimate of the Vedic age was nearer the mark. My opinion is that among other reasons the great affinity of the Gathic and the Vedic languages decides the question in favour of a medium period of 1200 to 1500 B.C., although according to the Greek and other writers the age of the old Avestan people can be placed back by about 5000 years before the Trojan war.

The determination of the original home of the Aryans is also a difficult problem. The Airanvej referred to in the Vendidad was probably some region in the north, or even near the north pole, but there is no gainsaying the fact

that in more recent age, the home of the Aryans was somewhere in Central Asia, from which the Hindu Aryans migrated to the East and the Persians and others to the West. The theory of the north Indian home of the Aryans seems to me fanciful and of little value.

Prof. Rangacharya has done well by placing before us all the different views of well known writers on several important points of the history of India, and we have no doubt that in the forthcoming volumes we may look forward to have much interesting and up-to-date information.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1929.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of the work of the Institute for the year 1929.

Government Fellowship Lectures.—Rev. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., as the Government Fellowship Lecturer of this Institute for 1929, delivered a series of six lectures on “God in the Gathas and in the Rigveda” as under:—

1. Introduction:—“History of the Problem and the Method of its Solution”, on 25th November 1929.
2. “One God or many Gods”, on 28th November 1929.
3. “God, Supreme or Subordinate”, on 11th December 1929.
4. “God, Person or Power”, on 13th December 1929.
5. “Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu”, on 16th December 1929.
6. “God in the Rigveda”, on 17th December 1929.

A Lecture.—On the 4th October 1929, an informal meeting was held to meet Dr. G. Morgenstierne, who was sent by the Norwegian Institute of Comparative Study of Human Culture to Kafiristan to make researches regarding the race and language of the Red Kaffirs. Dr. Morgenstierne related shortly the history of the people, their customs and beliefs, their language and observances. At the end he replied to different questions asked by the members present.

Celebration of the Anniversary of the Death of Mr. K. R. Cama.—The twentieth anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Thursday the 22nd August 1929 at 6 p.m. (S.T.) in the Hall of the Institute, when Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi delivered a discourse on "A Layman Dastur, Mr. Kharshedji Rustomji Cama".

Publications.—During the year under report, four numbers of the Journal containing the following matters were published :—

1. An English translation with important notes and summary of the five Zoroastrian Gathas, made by Mr. Khodabux Edalji Punegar, B.A., for which he was awarded the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of this Institute (Journal No. XII).

2. (a) Indo-Iranian Philology. A Study of Semantic Etymology by Prof. Ernest P. P. Horowitz of Hunter College, New York City, being a series of eight Government Fellowship Lectures of this Institute. (b) "A Petition in Persian Verse by Dastur Kaikobad of Naosari to Emperor Jahangir", by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E. (c) "The Zend-Avesta and the Magyars" by Prof. Francis Zajti (Journal No. XIII).

3. An English translation of classical passages on Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, by President W. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A., of the University of Western Ontario, London, Canada (Journal No. XIV).

4. "The Foundations of the Iranian Religions", being a series of Bai Ratanbai Katrak Lectures delivered at Oxford in 1925, by Prof. Louis H. Gray, M.A., Ph.D., of Columbia University (Journal No. XV).

Besides the four Nos. 12-15 of the Journal issued during the year the undermentioned works were published

Publication No. 2.—"Indo-Iranian Philology. A Study of Semantic Etymology", by Prof. Ernest P. Horowitz.

Publication No. 4.—“Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism”, translated into English by President W. Sherwood Fox and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A.

Publication No. 6.—નવસારીની વડી દરમેહેરમાં થયેલા નાવસારી ફેહરેસ્ટ ઈ. સ. ૧૬૩૩ થી ૧૯૨૮ સુધીના તથા વડી દરમેહેરમાં થયેલી નીરંગદીન અને વરસ્યાની તોંધ. સંગ્રહ કરનાર:—એરવદ માહીયાર નવરોજ કુતાર. (The Fehrest of the Nāvārs at Navsari from A.D. 1633 to 1928 including a memo of the Nirangdīns and Varasyās by Ervad Mahyar Nowroji Kutār.)

The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essay (Rs. 500).—A Prize Competitive Translation of specified Khorddeh Avesta prayers was invited by 31st May 1929 and in response, two essays were received, bearing the pseudonyms of "Humility" and ՀԱՅԿԱՆԻ ՄԱՍԷՐԵՔ

Mr. Ratanji Fardoonji Gorvala, M.A., and Mr. Sohrab Jamshedji Bulsara, M.A., were appointed examiners to examine the said two essays. As recommended by the examiners, the prize of Rs. 500 was equally divided among the two competitors, who were Mr. Khodabax Edalji Punegar, B.A., and Ervad Manek Furdunji Kanga.

*The Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize Essay (Rs. 500).—*A Prize Competitive Translation of a few Yashts was invited for a prize of Rs. 225 by 31st December 1928 but by that date no translation was received. Thereon, another prize essay has been invited by the 31st December 1930 for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of Rs. 500 as under:—

“A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the following Yashts in due accordance with Grammar and Philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary:—Yashts: Ābā, Khorshed, Māh, Tir, Gōsh, Meher, Rashna, Farvardin, Rām, and Din”.

Books repaired.—During the year under report, 82 Mss. of the Library were repaired and bound at a cost of Rs. 192.

The English Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad.—To commemorate the 20th anniversary of the passing away of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, an anonymous donor offered an amount of Rs. 1,000 for getting an English translation of the Avesta Vendidad prepared by a Parsi scholar with a request to start a fund so that a prize of Rs. 3,000 be offered for same and that the prize be given on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama's birth on the 11th November 1931. The Executive Committee thanked the donor for his offer and requested him to allow the Executive Committee to utilize the amount for an English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad, as there is none published, whereas there are several of the Avesta text, and to increase the amount to Rs. 2,000. The

donor having kindly agreed to have his gift of Rs. 1,000 employed for an English translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad, the Executive Committee have entrusted the work of preparing a transliteration and translation of the same to Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., on an honorarium of Rs. 2,000.

Resolutions of Sorrow.—The Executive Committee passed the following resolution of sorrow for the demise of Prof. Karl F. Geldner:—

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay, express their deep regret at the sad demise of Prof. Karl F. Geldner of Marburg University, and record their appreciation of his great scholarship in the fields of Iranian and Sanskrit Philology. His services to Iranian studies are indeed valuable. The Edition of the Avesta, to mention only one great work published by him, has laid Iranian scholarship as well as the Parsi Community under a deep obligation and is a lasting monument of his learning.”

The resolution was communicated to Mrs. Geldner and a suitable reply received from her.

The following resolution was passed on the occasion of the death of Mr. Jehangir Rustomji Patel, a son-in-law of the late Mr. K. R. Cama:—

“The Committee records its sense of grief at the death of Mr. Jehangir Rustomji Patel, who was a member of the Executive Committee for ten years (from 22nd July 1919). Mr. Patel had kindly given to this Institute Rs. 2,700 for sending a scholar to Naosari, Surat and Broach, to collect information about Iranian Mss. in various libraries there. Mr. Jehangir Patel took a great interest in the Institute from the very time of his joining it as a member.”

Maneckji Limji Hateria Library.—Dr. N. N. Katrak having communicated the wish of the Managing Committee of the Bhagarsath Anjuman Atashbehrum to hand over to this Institute the Manekji Limji Hateria Library, which was affiliated with their Fire-Temple, along with the fund of Rs. 5,000, belonging to the said Library, the Executive Committee intimated that they would receive the same, provided the transfer was sanctioned by the Court and they were allowed to dispose of such manuscripts and books as owing to their possession of other copies or for other reasons they did not think it desirable to keep. The Managing Committee of the Atashbehrum thereupon applied to the Court which sanctioned the transfer to our Institute of such manuscripts and books as we were willing to keep permanently together with the fund of Rs. 5,000. The Court's order was passed on 15th July 1929 and since then all the manuscripts and such of the printed books as seemed useful for this Institute have been brought down and kept separate in the six cupboards belonging to the said Library and received with the books.

A Building for the Institute.—The Executive Committee having found the present premises gradually becoming insufficient to accommodate the Library, considered the question of having a building of its own for the Institute and a sub-committee of Mr. M. P. Khareghat, Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Mr. B. T. Anklesaria and Mr. Kaikhushru H. Cama was appointed to consider the question and report upon it. Inquiries were made in respect of five vacant plots but the terms were not found suitable. Inquiries were also made about ready-made buildings and seven buildings were inspected but none of them was found suitable for the purposes of the Institute.

Book Committee.—In the matter of purchase of books for the Institute Library, a Book Committee of Dr. Jivanji

J. Modi, Mr. B. T. Anklesaria and Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji was appointed to select and buy books for the Institute's Library to the extent of Rs. 700 a year.

Members of the Institute.—In the beginning of the year, there were 222 Life Members. Owing to the death of five members and increase of two, the number of Life Members at the end of the year stood at 219.

There were 71 Annual Members in the beginning of the year. On account of the death of one member and the resignation of two members and the addition of one new member, at the end of the year, the total number of Annual Members was 69.

New Life Members.—Jivaji Shapurji Dhanjibhai, Esq., Lt.-Col. M. J. Kelawala.

New Annual Member.—M. Framji, Esq.

Donations.—The Executive Committee convey their best thanks to the donors of the undermentioned sums, received during the year under report:—

Rs.

In memory of the 20th Anniversary of the passing away of Mr. Sarosh K. R. Cama, which fell on 6th November 1928, from the family of the late Mr. K. R. Cama, for publishing the translation and summary of the Gathas prepared by Mr. K. E. Punegar, B.A.	... 400
Messrs. Fredyson's Indo-German Trading Co.	21
The M. F. Cama Athornan Institute for the publication of the translation and summary of the Gathas by Mr. K. E. Punegar, B.A.	300
Sohrabji Burjorji Mehta, Esq. ...	... 25
In memory of Seth Jijibhoy Dadabhoy on his anniversary on 23rd April 1929	... 5

In memory of my Aimai on her anniversary	Rs.
on 25th April 1929...	5

Anonymous, for publishing an English Translation of the Pahlavi Vendidad to commemorate the Centenary of the late Mr. K. R. Cama's birth (11th November 1931) being the first instalment of Rs. 1,000.	655-4-4
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The sister and children of late Bai Aimai K. R. Cama in memory of the 34th anniversary of her passing away for the Aimai K. R. Cama Prize Fund	... 50
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Jivaji Shapurji Dhanjibhai, Esq.	... 100
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The Trustees of the N. J. Wadia Charity Fund	150
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The following donations were received in connection with the publication of the Navsari Nāvar and Nirangdin Fehrest :—

The Trustees of the Parsee Panchayet Funds and Properties	... Rs. 500
Sir Ratan Tata Charities	... „ 500
The M. F. Cama Athornan Institute	... „ 300
The N. M. Wadia Charities	... „ 200
M. P. Khareghat, Esqr.	... „ 150
Ervad Edalji Burzoji Mulla Charity Fund	... „ 125
Kavasji Jalbhoy Sett, Esqr.	... „ 101
Sir Hormusjee Cowasji Dinshaw, M.V.O., O.B.E.	... „ 100
Bai Ratanbai Edalji Bamji	... „ 100
A Zarthoshti	... „ 100
Rustomji Kavasji Modi, Esqr.	... „ 100
Dhanjishah Bapuji Desai, Esqr.	... „ 51
Edalji Shapurji Olpadvala, Esqr.	... „ 51
Dr. Pestonji Bhikhaji Nariman	... „ 50

Sir Phiroze C. Sethna	... Rs. 50
Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi	... „ 31
Late Mr. Mehrwanji Nanabhoy Mehta	... „ 31
Bapuji Hormusji Saklatvala, Esqr.	... „ 25
Dinshaji Ratanji Daboo, Esqr.	... „ 25
Capt. Sohrab R. Modi	... „ 25
Naoshirwan R. Modi, Esqr.	... „ 25
Rustomji E. Modi, Esqr.	... „ 15
R. M. Vazifdar, Esqr.	... „ 10
Furrokh Sohrabji Mulla, Esqr.	... „ 10
M. S. Kanga, Esqr.	... „ 10
M. M. Pavri, Esqr.	... „ 10
Jamshedji Edalji Kutar, Esqr.	... „ 5
Hormusji A. Sethna, Esqr.	... „ 5
Furdoonji R. Modi, Esqr.	... „ 5

Gifts of Books and Journals.—The best thanks of the Committee are due to the institutions and private individuals, who have kindly presented books, journals, reports etc. to the Institute, as under:—

BOOKS PRESENTED.

Ostiranische Nominalflexion (by Paul Tedesco)
(presented by the author).

Ratnasamuc'haya or A Comprehensive and Classified Catalogue of Sanskrit Works (by Mehr Chand Lachhman Das) (presented by the author).

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vols. I-XVI
(presented by the Calcutta University).

वेदान्तार्थ साध्यः—अक्षसूत्र शारीरीकसु व्याख्यान (presented by Mr. Damoder Sunderdass).

साधन चिकित्सा: शिवशाहीचा चर्चात्मक इतिहास (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

सांख्यदर्शनम्. शुल्कर भाषांतर, दीक्ष सहीत.

નવસારી નગરીના નામાંકીત નર માહાપ્રતાપી દેશાઈજી સાહેબ
“પુરશેજી આપા” ના નેક કામોનો જિતેખાબ.

The Conference of the Birds (R. P. Masani, M.A.)
(presented by the author).

Descriptive Catalogue of the Bijapur Museum of
Archæology (presented by the Bijapur Museum of Library).

A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library,
Parts I and II (presented by the Director, Adyar
Library, Madras).

The Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. in the Adyar Library
(presented by the Adyar Library, Madras).

Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library, Upanisads
(presented by the Adyar Library, Madras).

Beitrage zur Erklarung des Awestas und des Vedas
by Johannes Hertel (presented by the author).

Cama Oriental Institute Papers by Dr. J. J. Modi
(presented by the author).

South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III, Part IV—Copper-
plate grants from Sinnamanur Tirukkalar and Tiruch-
chengodu by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri (presented by
the Government of India, Calcutta).

Slokas Grammaticaux de Thonmi Sumbhota: Avec
leurs Commentaires by Jacques Bacot (presented by Musée
Guimet).

Catalogue of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic
Society, Part I—Authors and Part II—Subjects by P. B.
Gothaskar (presented by the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society,
Bombay).

પાવ મહેલની કીચાઓ તેની ખુબીઓ સાથે, કર્તા ચરવઠ નોશીરવાન
નવરોજી ઉનવાલા (“ બઝમે ખાદેમાને ઈરાનશાહ ” તરફથી ભેટ).

હસ્તલેખો:—

અંહાગીર નામું ગુજરાતીમાં હાથનું લખેલું.

હીંદી શાહનામું હાથનું લખેલું.

ગુજરાતી શાહનામું ૪ ભાગમાં ગુજરાતીમાં લખેલું.

પુરાણ શીરીન ગુજરાતીમાં હાથનું લખેલું ભાગ ૧ અને ૨.

(All the above 4 Mss, have been presented by an anonymous donor through Dr. Dhunjibhoy N. Patel.)

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XVIII
(presented by the Calcutta University).

The Genealogy of the Naosari Parsi Priests by Ervad Rustomji J. Dastur Meherjirana (presented by Dr. J. J. Modi).

Masonic Papers by Dr. J. J. Modi (presented by the author).

A Biographical Sketch of Behramji M. Malbari by Dayaram Gidumal (presented by Mr. J. M. Malbari).

અવસ્તાના જવાહીરો તથા અન્ય ધર્મોની સરખામણીઓ પુસ્તક પહેલું અને બીજું (બાઈ ધનમાય ફરામજી અરબની તરફથી ભેટ મળ્યું).

ફરામજી નામું ગુજરાતી હાથનું લખેલું,

દારાબ નામું, વાલમ ત્રિજી અને પાંચમું હાથનું લખેલું.

સોહરાબનું દારતાન હાથનું લખેલું.

બહમન નામું, વાલમ પહેલું અને બીજું (હાથનું લખેલું).

તુલુએ આફતાબ ઈઆને સુર્ખ પ્રકાશ.

Resala-e Istashadat or the work containing Evidences on the non-existence of Kubbeesa in the Pure Religion of Zoroaster.

Shah-nameh in Persian with paintings.

Dabestan in Persian.

Anwar-e Soheli in Persian.

Dewan-e Hafiz in Persian.

Javidan-e Kherad in Persian.

(The last 11 books were presented by a gentleman who did not wish his name to be published, through Dr. Jivanji J. Modi.)

JOURNALS PRESENTED.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 4, December 1928; Vol. V, No. 1, March 1929.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 7, Heft 3-4; Band 8, Heft 1-2, 1929.

Journal of the Telugu Academy, 1929.

Journal Asiatique Recueil de Memoires, Tome CCXI, No. 2, October to December 1927; Tome CCXII, No. 1, January—March 1929.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIII, 1927, Nos. 3-4; Vol. No. 1, 1928.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, January, April and July 1929.

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Heft 2-3 (1928) and Heft 1 (1929).

Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, No. XI, November and No. XII, December 1928; Nos. I-VI, January-June 1929.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December 1928.

Revue de l'Institut de Sociologie, No. 4, October-December 1928.

The Asiatic Review, Vol. XXV, Nos. 81-82, January and April 1929.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 48, No. 4, December 1928; Vol. 49, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1929.

Bulletin of the Iran League, Vol. 1, No. 9, November 1928, and Vol. I, Nos. 10-11, December 1928, January-February 1929; Vol. I, Nos. 13-17, March-July 1929.

British Mazdaznan, Vol. V, Nos. 5-9, January-May 1929.

नागरि प्रचारिणी पत्रिका भाग ६ अंक ४.

عصر پہلوی (for the months of Bahman and Asfandarmad (1297) and Farvardin (1298).)

The Humanist, Vol. I, Nos. 10-12, March-May 1929; Vol. II, Nos. 1-5, June-October 1929.

Annual Report of the Watson Museum of Antiquities for 1928.

Asiatica, Vol. II, No. 1, January-February 1929.

Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, Vol. 4, 1928.

કૈમુદ્દી; સાહિત્ય અને સંસ્કારિતાનું ત્રૈમાસીક પુસ્તક ૪, અંક ૧, માર્ચ ૧૯૨૪, પુસ્તક ૫. અંક ૨ જાને, માય-જેન ૧૯૨૫; અંક ૩ જાને.

રાહ જરથુસ્ત્ર, પુસ્તક ૧૧ મું, અંક ૧, ૨ માર્ચ થી જુન ૧૯૨૬.

Muslim Review (Quarterly), Vol. III, No. 1 (July to September 1928) and Vol. III, No. 3 (January to March 1929).

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. V, Part II, 1929.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XIII, Nos. 1-2, January to April 1929.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 1, March 1929.

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 41 (Survival of the Prehistoric Civilisation of the Indus Valley).

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions.

Hyderabad Archæological Series No. 8 : The Inscriptions of Nagai.

Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VIII, No. 7, for the year 1929.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, Vol. X, 1929.

Report of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute for 1928-29.

Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. III, Parts 2, 3 and 4 for the months of October 1928 and January and April 1929.

Journal of the Bombay Historical Society for March 1929.

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Quarterly, Vol. IX, No. 4, and Vol. X, No. 1.

Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India, 1928.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, Kern Institute, London, for the year 1927.

Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the year 1928.

BOOKS PURCHASED.

The following books have been purchased during the year under report:—

Cuneiform Inscription relating to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus.

Arabic Literature (by H. A. R. Gibb).

A Short History of the Saracens (by Ameer Ali Syed).

Sikander Nama e Bara or Book of Alexander the Great (by Captain H. Wilberforce Clarke).

A Literary History of the Arabs (by Reynold A. Nicholson).

The Geographical Works of Sadik Isfahani (by J. C.).
Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental
Conference, Calcutta.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental
Conference, Madras.

Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth Oriental
Conference, Allahabad, Vols. I and II.

Hymns of Zoroaster by Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie.

First Book of Sanskrit by R. G. Bhandarkar.

Histoire de l'Extreme-Orient, Parts I and II.

An Introduction to Dravidian Philology by C. Nara-
yana Rao, M.A., Lt.

An Oriental Biographical Dictionary (by Henry
George Keene).

Dictionary of Geography, History, Biography, Ety-
mology, and Chronology, Vols. I and II (by George R.
Emerson).

Etymological Gujarati-English Dictionary (by M. B.
Belsare).

Ten Thousand Miles in Persia by P. M. Sykes.

Armaghan in Persian, Vols. I to IX.

Persian Ms. of Khusro-Shirin.

Journal "Kaveh" in Persian for the year 1921.

Gujarati Dnyanakosha, Part I (the whole set of 20
Volumes) is ordered out.

Etudes sur le Zoroastrisme de la Perse Antique.

The Audited Accounts are attached hereto:—

THE K. R. CAMA

Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES.				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	1,98,929	14	5
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,124	15	2
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,746	3	6
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	3,727	6	9
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,027	15	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,667	2	0
T. R. N. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,387	3	0
Revayat Publication Fund	...	...	...	4,143	6	6
Pehlavi Vandidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	655	4	4
Total				2,68,938	15	2

KAIKHUSHRU HORMUSJI CAMA,
Hon. Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

31st December 1929.

ASSETS.				Rs.	a.	p.
Cash with the Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 14,479):—						
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...		1,074	8	9
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...		918	11	6
All other Accounts	...	...	...	12,485	11	9
Securities of Rs. 2,52,345-11-10:—						
(With the Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt).						
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 74,200	...	...	...	58,806	15	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500	...	...	...	500	0	0
6 per cent Ten Year Bonds of Rs. 74,300	...			74,450	0	10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds Rs. 500	...			500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800	...	...	...	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	2,114	3	4
Total				2,68,938	15	2

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
*Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.*

Bombay, 28th March 1930

THE K. R. CAMA

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT.				Rs. a. p.		
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1929 (Rs. 2,00,260-0-5):—						
Cash with Bank ...	...	...	...	1,98,019	14	6
Securities ...	...	...	...	1,856	7	4
Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...
CASH CREDITS (Rs. 25,491-8-2):—						
Life and Annual Membership subscription ...	...	...	...	930	0	0
General Donations ...	...	...	...	306	0	0
Donation for Navsari Navar Fehrest ...	...	...	...	2,700	0	0
Donation for Mr. Punegar's Gathas ...	...	...	...	700	0	0
Sale proceeds of 6 per cent Government Promis- sory Notes of 1931 of the face value of Rs. 10,000 ...	...	...	...	10,211	5	0
Interest on Investments ...	...	...	...	8,693	13	4
Fees for use of Institute Hall ...	...	...	...	14	0	0
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account ...	...	...	...	861	12	0
Sundry receipts including sale-proceeds of books, journals, etc. ...	...	...	...	255	2	0
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES recovered from:—						
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	18	13	10
Bai Aimal K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	8	11	0
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund ...	...	...	...	6	4	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	...	...	...	125	11	0
The Mulla Feroze Library ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
OTHER CREDITS (Rs. 369):—						
Additions to Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...	369	0	0
Total Rs.				2,26,120	8	7

KAIKHUSHRU HORMUSJI CAMA,
Hon. Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE. Account No. 1.

year ending 31st December 1929.

DEBIT.				Rs. a. p.	
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 17,017-0-6):—					
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	3,804	12 9
Rent	...	...	...	3,300	0 0
Cost of copying, indexing and printing the					
Navsari Navar Fehrest	...	...	...	3,679	0 0
Cost of printing other publications including					
Mr. Punegar's Gathas	...	...	...	4,418	2 0
Books and Periodicals purchased	...	...	...	643	13 6
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	133	12 0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	...	225	15 9
Clothing to Peons	...	...	...	60	0 0
Insurance	...	...	...	28	2 0
Cost of addition to Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	369	0 0
Other General Charges	...	...	...	354	6 6
OTHER DEBITS (Rs. 10,173-9-8):—					
Cost price of 6 per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of 1931 of Rs. 10,000 face value sold	...	...	...	10,062	5 8
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	111	4 0
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1929 (Rs. 1,98,929-14-5):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of the face value of	Rs.	59,800		47,018	12 0
5 per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of 1945-55 of the face value of	„	500		500	0 0
6 per cent Government Promissory					
Notes of 1931 of the face value of	„	24,000		24,150	0 10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds					
of the face value of	„	500		500	0 0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds					
of the face value of	„	1,15,500		1,15,788	12 0
Cash with Bank	...	...	...	8,858	2 3
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	2,114	3 4
Total Rs.				2,26,120	8 7

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 28th March 1930.

No.

FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Journal Printing	...	...		1,756	2	0
Administration charges	...	...		125	11	0
Balance 31-12-29:—						
Bonds	...	...	30,000	0	0	
Cash	...	...	124	15	2	
				30,124	15	2
				32,006	12	2

No.

DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Interest amount transferred to General Fund	...	...	...	861	12	0
Balance as per contra	...	...		14,529	8	0
				15,391	4	0

No.

SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Prize awarded	...	...		500	0	0
Stamp on Balance Certificate	...	...		0	1	0
Administration charges	...	...		18	13	10
Balance 31st Dec.:—						
Securities as per contra—						
B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0	0		
6 per cent War Bonds	...	3,700	0	0		
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...	127	8	0		
Cash	...	918	11	6		
				5,746	3	6
				6,265	2	4

2.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1929:—						
Bonds	...	30,000	0 0			
Cash	...	211	4 2	30,211	4 2	
Interest	...	...	...	1,795	8 0	
				32,006	12 2	

3.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—						
6 per cent Bonds	...	14,400	0 0			
Cash	...	129	8 0	14,529	8 0	
Interest	...	...	...	861	12 0	
				15,391	4 0	

4.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—						
B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0 0			
6 per cent War	...	3,700	0 0			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...					
(F. V. 200)	...	127	8 0			
Cash	...	1,170	4 4	5,997	12 4	
Interest	...	...	...	267	6 0	
				6,265	2 4	

No.

BAI AIMAI K. R. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate ...	...	...	0	1	0
Administration charges ...	...	...	8	11	0
Balance 31-12-29					
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds...	1,300	0 0			
6 p.c. War " ...	700	0 0			
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes...	652	14 0			
Cash ...	1,074	8 9			
			3,727	6	9
			3,736	2	9

No.

SURAT PARSI HISTORY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 31st. Dec.:—					
Securities ...	...	...	2,379	9	0
Cash ...	...	...	648	6	6
			3,027	15	6

No.

K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
Anniversary Celebration expenses ..			48	5	6
Administration charges ...	...	...	6	4	0
Balance:—					
War Bonds ...	1,500	0 0			
Cash ...	167	2 0			
			1,667	2	0
			1,721	11	6

5.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds	1,300	0	0				
6 per cent War Bonds	...	700	0	0			
3½ per cent G.P. Notes							
Face Value Rs. 900	...	652	14	0			
Cash	...	910	12	9	3,563	10	9
Donation received	...				50	0	0
Interest on Securities	...				122	8	0
					3,736	2	9

6.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st. Jan. 1929:—							
3½ per cent G. P. Notes							
F.V. Rs. 3,700	...	2,379	9	0			
Cash	...	519	6	6	2,898	15	6
Interest	...				129	0	0
					3,027	15	6

7.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—							
War Bonds	...	1,500	0	0			
Cash	...	131	15	6	1,631	15	6
Interest	...				89	12	0
					1,721	11	6

No.

T. R. N. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Balance 31st Dec. 1929:—			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes ...	...		5,000 0 0
Cash ...	...	..	1,387 3 0
			<hr/>
			6,387 3 0

No.

REVAYET PUBLICATION

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Balance 31st Dec. 1929:—			
Securities as per contra ...	...		3,628 4 0
Cash ...	...	..	515 2 6
			<hr/>
			4,143 6 6

No.

PAHLAVI VENDIDAD

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Balance 31st Dec. 1929:—			
Cash ...	...	...	655 4 4
			<hr/>
			655 4 4

8.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs. a. p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—					
3½ per cent G. P. Notes...	5,000	0	0		
Cash	...	...	1,212	9	0
Interest	...	...	...	...	174 19 0
					<hr/> 6,387 3 0

9.

FUND ACCOUNT

Cr.

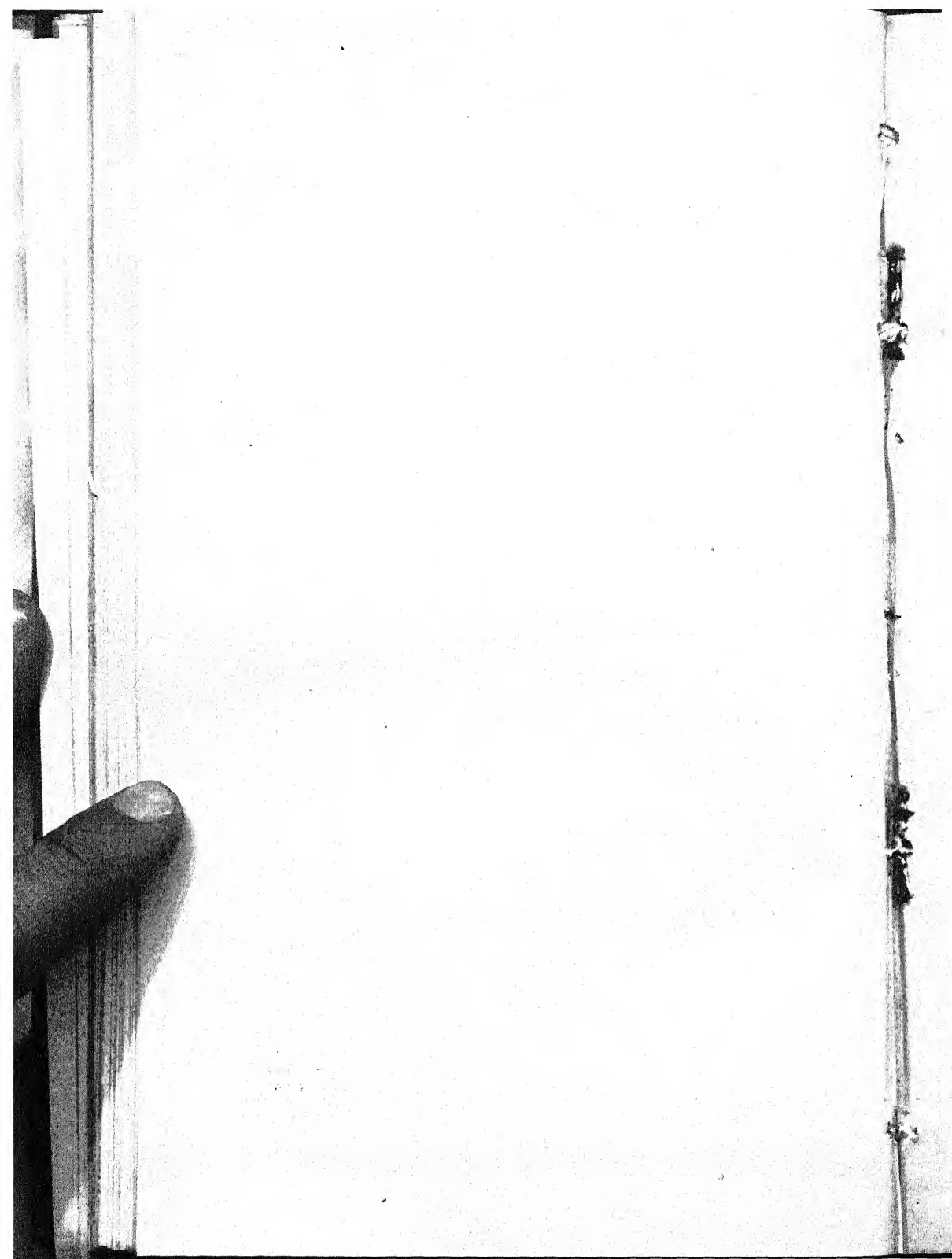
					Rs. a. p.
Balance 1st Jan. 1929:—					
3½ per cent G. P. Notes					
Face Value Rs. 4,600 ...	3,628	4	0		
Cash	...	...	354	14	6
					<hr/> 3,983 2 6
Interest	...	...	...	...	160 4 0
					<hr/> 4,143 6 6

10.

TRANSLATION FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs. a. p.
Donation received	...	...			655 4 4
					<hr/> 655 4 4



PREFACE BY THE TRANSLATOR.

The present writer was entrusted by Shams-ul-Ulama DR. J. J. MODI, (now Sir J. J. Modi, Kt.), the then Honorary Secretary of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, on behalf of the Journal of the said Institute, with the translation into English of Prof. CH. BARTHOLOME's series of essays on Sasanian Law as far back as 1922. That series was originally published in the Proceedings of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences ("Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften") and consists of six essays issued at unequal periods from 1910 to 1923. The first essay in the series bears the title "Über ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch" (in our translation "Notes on a Sasanian Law-Book") and may be considered as forming the introductory part of the series. The remaining five essays bear all the same title "Zum sasanidischen Recht" (rendered by us "Notes on Sasanian Law") and are respectively numbered as Parts I, II, III, IV and V. That numeration, owing to a certain delay in sending the translated Parts of the series to the Press, as they were delivered, and the departure of the present writer from Bombay, first to Bengal and then on a protracted journey to Afghanistan, led to a mistake, most natural in the circumstances, on the part of the office of the Cama Institute, owing to which the writer's manuscript marked "PART I" was sent to the Press in the first instance, before the essay which constitutes the "INTRODUCTORY PART" (although not so marked and bearing a different title from the rest of the series). The great distance and the difficulty of communications (the foreign mails used to reach the writer in Kabul *normally* once in a fortnight, and very often only once a month) prevented us from discovering that mistake in due time, and it was already too late to reverse the course, when it was ultimately noticed. As that introductory essay is at present in the press and is due to appear before long, the inconvenience caused thereby is only slight and amounts merely to our inability to quote the pages and lines of our English translation wherever reference to the "Notes on a Sasanian Law-Book" is being made in the text of "Part I", which is here submitted to our readers.

The translation of the series proved to be an extremely arduous task, and the reading of the proofs and the putting of the individual essays into a shape fit for publication was even more so. The more welcome for the present writer was therefore the willingness of the author himself (with whom the

writer, on being entrusted with the translation, immediately entered into correspondence in order to obtain Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ's consent as well as the elucidation of certain points in connection with the author's treatment of the subject) to read the first proofs of the English translation of his works in connection with questions of Sasanian Law.

About two years elapsed, however, owing to accumulation of material, before the translations could be sent to the Press, and it took almost one year for the first galley-proof of "Part I" to be composed and corrected, which involved its being sent from Bombay to Kabul, from Kabul to Heidelberg and back again. The untimely death from heart-failure (in August 1925, at Langerook) of Prof. CH. BARTHOLOMÆ deprived the present writer of the kind assistance tendered to him in his difficult task by the great German savant.

The difficulties in translation referred to were chiefly due to the peculiarities of the late Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ's manner of exposition of his subject: practically not a single reference in his writings is given in full, all titles of books, articles, manuscripts, etc., being given in the form of abbreviations of an extremely lapidary nature devised by the author himself and not used anywhere else in literature, besides the ordinary abbreviations of names of well-known periodicals which are in common use and intelligible for everybody. The keys to the interpretation of those cryptic signs, under which well-known (or otherwise) works are concealed, are again scattered in several previous works of Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ ("Altiranisches Wörterbuch"; "Zur Kenntniss der mittelliranischen Mundarten"; "Zendhandschriften"), of which one (the last mentioned) was unavailable in India and had to be got by the present writer, after a long delay, from Europe. No lists of abbreviations are attached by the author to the individual essays of our series. We thought it imperative to compile and attach to each volume of the series in our translation a full list of abbreviations used in the text, without which the same would be almost unintelligible.

Certain summary explanations regarding some of the signs used in the text are given by the author in his "Prefatory Notice", which is annexed to "Part I".

Another peculiarity (nowhere, however, explained by the author) is the use of italics for the figures denoting pages in quotations, and of ordinary type figures to denote lines, the two being divided by a full stop, without any further sign to indicate that the one is the *page* and the other the *line* quoted.

This involves complication since the same method (*i.e.*, figure in italics—full stop—figure in ordinary type) is used by the author to indicate "*volume and page*" as well, when italic (instead of the usual Roman figure) stands for *volume* and ordinary type for *page*.

In order to avoid a great deal of unnecessary trouble for the compositors and printers, we have discarded in our translation the numeration of lines, the indentations and other similar typographical mannerisms of the German original, but have preserved intact the above-discussed abbreviations, as devised by the author.

In a footnote accompanying his above-mentioned "Prefatory Notice" Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ reverts to the old question as to whether Pahlavi is to be considered a "mixed language" or not. We do not deem it necessary to re-start that question here and refer our readers to our Preface to SALEMANN'S Middle-Persian Grammar (published by the Hon'ble Trustees of the Parsee Punchayet Funds and Properties, Bombay), where that question has been fully dealt with by us. A passage in the late E. G. BROWNE'S Literary History of Persia (vol. I, pp. 76-77), which sheds an absolutely clear light on that much discussed question, had, however, escaped our attention at the moment of the compilation of the said Preface. As it only confirms and fully justifies our views expressed in the same, we think it will suffice to mention here that BROWNE'S authority is a passage in the FHRIST, which shows quite clearly that the Pahlavi ideograms were never pronounced as they are spelt.

As regards Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ'S transcription of Pahlavi words, it may be safely considered as the simplest of all the systems used in that connection, and it has, of course, been preserved intact throughout in our translation of the present series. What we mean here by simplicity refers, however, only to its outward appearance, by which we mean the absence of any unusual or too complicated signs below or above the Latin characters used in the transcription and the absence of any additional letters (barring the Greek "gamma" to denote the guttural *g*-sound and the Greek "theta" to represent the voiceless dental spirant). The placing of the (metric) mutter-vowel (*e* or *o*) *under* the line instead of placing it *above* the line, as is the general custom, is one of Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ'S many typographical peculiarities, which does not really matter at all.

A far more important feature of Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ'S transcription is his peculiarly own and unusual spelling of certain

well-known (or otherwise) Pahlavi words. As has been pointed out by us in our above-mentioned Preface to SALEMANN'S Middle-Persian Grammar, the limitations of the Pahlavi alphabet are such as to open a vast field, to anybody who should be so inclined, for playing ducks and drakes with its transcription and spelling in Latin characters. It is that peculiarity of the Pahlavi alphabet which enabled Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ to introduce into his transcriptions most unusual spellings of certain words only partly justified by the deficiencies of that alphabet. Being a PRIMA FACIE Avestan and Ancient-Iranian scholar (his doctor-dissertation, which appeared in Munich in 1878, was an essay entitled "Das Verbum im Awesta," later incorporated in the same year in his monograph "Das altiranische Verbum in Formenlehre und Syntax dargestellt") and all his innumerable articles and a few large books, which appeared during the first twenty-eight years of his research activities, are exclusively concerned with subjects Avestan, Ancient-Iranian, Indian, Indo-Germanic, etc., and his first paper dealing with a purely Pahlavi subject ("Zur Rechtschreibung des Buchpahlavi: *pāhrēxtan* oder *pahrēxtan*?" WZKM., XXI, 1-10) appeared only as late as 1907, and the first (Introductory) Part of the present series only in 1910, his "Mitteliranische Studien" (*ibid.*) between 1911 and 1917, and his series entitled "Zur Kenntniss der mitteliranischen Mundarten" was started as late as 1916, and the last (VI) issue of the same was published only after the death of the great savant in 1925.

It is only natural in the circumstances that, having devoted two thirds of his lifetime to research in the domain of the two older Iranian languages, Prof. BARTHOLOMÆ should have remained to the end under the spell of Avestan and Ancient-Persian morphology, even when dealing with subjects purely Middle-Persian, and should have been always inclined, whenever an opportunity was offered by the deficiencies of the Pahlavi alphabet, to prefer in transcribing Pahlavi words spellings based on forms Avestan and Ancient-Persian, as against the usually accepted spellings, derived either from the Parsi traditional or from the living Persian forms, to which Pahlavi stands in a far closer connection than to the two dead Iranian languages. His footnote on p. 5 of the present book shows clearly his attitude in the matter.

However it be, we have most scrupulously preserved the author's transcription throughout the whole of the series. Nor did we in any way change the plan and the arrangement of the Indices of the German original.

L. BOGDANOV.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AGr. : Armenische Grammatik (Hübschmann).

AI. : Ancient Indian.

AirWb. : Altiranisches Wörterbuch (BTHL.)

Aog. : Aogemadæcha (ed. GEIGER).

AVN. : The Book of Arda Virāf.

Aw. : Avestan.

Bd. : Bundahišn (ed. WESTERGAARD, JUSTI. The references are to pages and lines).

BGB. : Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch (the German Civil Code).

Bthl. : BARTHOLOMÆ.

BullAcPét. : Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale de St. Pétersbourg.

DM. : Dēnkart ed. MADAN (the references are to pages and lines).

DKS. : Dēnkart ed. SANJANA (the references are to pages and lines).

DWb. : Deutsches Wörterbuch.

Einl. : Einleitung in die traditionellen Schriften der Parsen (SPIEGEL).

FrP. : Frahang-i Pahlavik ed. JUNKER (the references are to chapters and lines).

GAw. : Avestan of the Gathas.

GIrPh. : Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.

GrBd. : Great Bundahišn ed. ANKLESARIA (the references are to pages and lines).

Grdr. : Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen (BRUGMANN).

GrSogd. : Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne (GAUTHIOT).

IF. : Indogermanische Forschungen (ed. BRUGMANN and STREITBERG).

KN. : Kārnamak-i Artaxšēr-i Pāvakān.

M. : Handschriftentexte aus Turfan (F. W. K. MÜLLER),
and Ein Doppelblatt aus einem Manichäischen Hymnen-
buch (I D E M).

Man Stud. : Manichäische Studien (SALEMANN).

MK. : Codex MK. of DASTUR JAMASP-ASANA.

Mélas. : Mélanges Asiatiques.

MhD. : Mādīgān-i-Hazār Dādīstān ed. MODI (the references
are to pages and lines).

MhDA. : The Social Code of the Parsis in Sasanian times
ed. E. T. D. ANKLESARIA.

MIRANM. : Zur Kenntniss der mitteliranischen Mundarten
(BTHL.) SHAW.

MPB. Middle-Persian of the books.

MPT. : Pahlavi texts of Turfan.

MS. : Middle-Soghdian (where no additional definition is
given—"Middle-Soghdian Buddhist Texts").

MX. : Mīnōk-i Khrad, editions : ANDREAS, SANJANA, WEST
(the references are to §§ and lines).

NpEt. : Neupersische Etymologie (HORN).

PahlT. : Pahlavi Texts (JAMASP ASANA).

PersStud. : Persische Studien (HÜBSCHMANN).

PF. : Pahlavi-Awēsta Frahang (ed. REICHELT, WZKM.,
14. 182 ff.)

PN. : Pahlavi Nirangistān.

PN (Tahm.) : Pahlavi Nirangistān (the T. D. ANKLESARIA Codex).

Pū. : Pahlavi translations (of Avestan texts).

PV. : Pahlavi Vidēvdād (Vendīdād).

PVr. : Pahlavi Visperad.

PW. : ROTH and BÖHTLINGK's Dictionary.

PY. : Pahlavi Yasn.

PYt. : Pahlavi Yašt.

SBayRAW. : Sitzungsberichte der bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SBE. : Sacred Books of the East.

SHAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Skr. : Sanskrit.

Sp. : SPIEGEL's ed. of the Visperad.

SRb. Über ein Sasanidisches Rechtsbuch (BTHL.), SHAW.

SW. Sanskrit Wörterbuch (BÖHTLINGK).

SWAW. : Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.

SyrRechtsb. : Syrisches Rechtsbuch (SACHAU).

ŠnŠ. : Šāyast-nē-Šāyast.

Šv. : Škand-gumānik Vižār.

WZKM. : Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.

ZDMG. : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

ZendHss. : Catalogus Codicum Mss. Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, v. I, pars VII (BTHL.)

12

RECEIVED: 1901

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

BUREAU OF LANDS

WATER RESOURCES DIVISION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 1, 1901

TO THE CHIEF OF BUREAU OF LANDS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

FROM THE CHIEF OF BUREAU OF LANDS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

RE: [illegible]

[illegible]

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NOTES ON SASANIAN LAW

FROM THE GERMAN OF

PROF. CH. BARTHOLOMÆ (HEIDELBERG)

translated by

L. BOGDANOV

PART I.

The present essay gives further data on *Sasanian law*. I request the reader to take into consideration my former attempts in that domain, especially the papers: Ueber ein sasanidisches Rechtsbuch (SRb.), SHdbAW. 1910; Beiträge zur Kenntniss des sasanidischen Rechts, WZKM. 27 (1913), 347 ff., and Der Verbalkontrakt im sasanidischen Recht, MiranM. 2.3 ff. in the SHdbAW. 1917.

If I am permitted to hope and to promise already to publish further contributions relative to the subject, I must—in reply to repeated summons addressed to me—again (as already MiranM. 2. 10 No. 2) emphasize that, owing to the mutilated condition of the only Ms. which we possess¹ of the Sasanian law-book, *Mātikān i hazār dāt-stān* (MhD.),² I consider it impossible to give a full translation which would more or less answer the established scientific demands. What is told us in MhDA., Introd. 15 f., about entrusting with and overtaking of a “translation of the MhD.” can in no way make me alter my opinion. The Parsi scholars are very much inclined to over-value the goodness of the Pahlavi texts and to undervalue the difficulty of their translation.

¹ Examples of its deplorable defectiveness are to be found everywhere below. See also p. 21, l. 12 ff.

² “The book of the thousand (legal) decisions”, see page 3.

I. MhD. 6. 13-14.

[with supplementary notes on the concept *pašt* "stipulatio"].

When two men¹
in common sell an
object to one man¹
and conclude [with
him] the stipula-
tion: We shall 14
guard it² "—: *Vah-*
*rām*³ has said: He⁴
is entitled to claim
the object from
anyone from whom
he wishes⁵.

1 mart ō 1 xāstak āk,nēn 2 mari ka
dārām 14 drust ku kunēnd pašt u frōšēnd
kē har hač dārisnīh drust ku guft vahrām
pātoxšāy⁵ xāst kāmēt

For the contents of this legal decision ("dātestān", s. SRb.3), the wording of which is proved to be thoroughly correct, see § 688 of the BGB.: "Deposit" and especially § 421: "If

¹ see below 1. p. 4. ² until taken off.

³ The lawyer most often quoted in MhD.

⁴ The buyer and depositor.

⁵ I spell *pātoxšāy*, with an *o*, i.e. a dull mutter-vowel, because of the frequent spelling *pat.xsāh*, where the vowel is expressed by *i* the sign for V, e.g. MhD. 2. 4, 3. 9, 6. 2, DkM. 706. 16, etc. After the falling out of the *x*, the sound received, because standing now before *š*, a clear tinge; MPB. *pāt.xsāh* "ruler"—P. *pādīšāh*.

It must be moreover pointed out, that the words meaning "authorized, entitled" and "ruler" are considered by me as originally equal and derived from ancient Iranian **xšāi*; in MsS. there is to be found the comparative degree PČ'YSTR *pačāyistar* "tolerabilius" (i.e., *patšāi*, s. Bthl. WZKM. 29. 26), and in MPT. the word is also in its second meaning still with *āy*, proved with certainty: P'DX'S'Y *pād.xšāy* p. 9 e. 16. Later on at the outlet it has been in the meaning of "ruler" assimilated with the congenial *šāh* derived from **xšāiat* (Ancient Persian *xšāyahiya*). My former transcription of the word in the meaning "entitled" with *āh* is erroneous.

* Of the two joint sellers.

LINGUISTIC AND OBJECTIVE REMARKS.

2. *āk_onēn* "una, conjunctim":

two and three partners. They are called **همبای** *hambāy* (plur.

سپارد-دو hambayān)³ "socius" and they form a سپارد-دو
hambāyih "societas,"; s. p. 30 note 2.

My reading of the word 𐎧𐎢𐎠𐎧 *āk.nēn* rests on my proposal made in IF.12.95, note, which, yet, could not be sustained without a slight amendment at the beginning—"points certainly to *ā-*!"—on account of the MPT.—forms of the word: 'GNYN and "GNYN, which were discovered in the meantime (s. Salemann, ManStud. 1.40 and BullAcPét. 1912.34 l. 23). I derive now the first half of the word from AI. *sākām* adv. "together, simultaneously", referring thereby for the formation of the initial syllable to my remarks on the initial *s-* before sonants in MiranM. 1.42; °𐎧𐎢 can be read *hak°* and *āk°*, but

1 See also below p. 45, Note 1.

² See the "Index of passages."

³ For the origin of the word see Bthl. WZKM 29. 14.

never *hāk*.¹ The second part of the word might certainly have some connection with the Aī. *nayana-* n. "ductus, tractus"; *āk, nēn* would thus verbally mean "conjuncto tractu". Still neither the reading nor the origin of the word can be considered as certain.

3. 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭭 *pašt* "(binding=) promise, agreement, treaty, espec. verbal contract, stipulation". The concluding-formula of a verbal contract. Cf. for it my *MiranM.* 2.3 ff., where a number of examples for the word *pašt* have been collected. The reason for the absence there of the above-quoted passage is that I had originally read the above combination 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭭

nipišt (=P. نوشت *nivišt* "piece of writing") instead of 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭭

u pašt,² supplementing a 𐭯 *u* "and" before the same.

I wanted accordingly to translate the passage: " to sell and to put it in writing: "We" That 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭭

nipišt occurs certainly often enough in the *MhD.*: yet it seems to me quite certain that, in this instance, on the contrary, a stipulation is meant; the text is perfectly in order; for the use of the preposition *apāk* and the verb *kartan* with *pašt* cf. *MiranM.* 2.5 f. and below for the *MhDa.* 1.16, 7.6, 40.16; s. *Indpass.*

¹ Except when the sonant of the initial syllable is *ā*, it cannot be established with certainty from the spelling of the word, whether the *h* before it has been preserved, or dropped off, or "prefixed", because the initial *z*, *š* and *h* *hē*, *ā*, *ō* and *hū*, *hō*, in most cases also *i* and *hi*, *u* and *hu* are written alike, with the sign for *a*, *i* or *u* accompanying the same. I write in such instances, as a rule, according to the etymology of the word, without vouching for the correct

structure of the word; thus, *haō*, for 𐭯, because of the Avest. *haōa*, in spite of *MPT.* and Pers. *az*, and *ōš* for 𐭯𐭮, because of the Avest. *aošō*, in spite of the Pers. *hōš*, and so forth.

² Cf. West in *MhDa.* *Introd.* 21; " 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭭 seems often to stand for 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭭 the slender 𐭯 being sometimes not seen when copying manuscripts". He does not state, to which passages the remark refers. In any case the remark is correct with reference to *MhD.* 22.1, 22. 2. 23.4; in all the three passages it is to be read *āngōn nipišt*. Probably also for *MhD.* 42. 11.

In the meantime, I have encountered a number of further examples for *pašt*, which I add here. The passages are as follows: MhD. 17. 3 f., 21.2, 71.8 (where it is, however, written

𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 as in most manuscripts of Kn. 12; s. MiranM. 2, 12 f.), 71. 10, MhDA. 7.6, 10.15, 16, 17, 11.4, 5, 8, 18, 11, 40.16. Their value as proofs is, I confess, fairly unequal.

1. MhD. 71.8, where the manuscript presents 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥, the word stands connected with 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 "and" before 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 *patmān* "agreement" (s. MiranM. 2.5 note 2) in the heading of the 45th chapter, which is rendered as follows:

𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥
𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥

The 3rd and 4th combinations therein are divided incorrectly:

it is to be read 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥. For the reading and meaning of the last word (*tāvān*) s. WZKM. 27.357 and the Pers. 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥. The first word, mostly written 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥: MhD., 71.13, 14, 17,

as well as—along with 𐭠𐭣𐭠𐭥 *vaxš* "rent"—30,8 (=A.12.17), 31.1, I am unable to read. It belongs, in any case, according to its meaning, to the same province as *tāvān* and *vaxš*, and means, therefore, "indemnity". The heading—*dar i × × u tāvān dahišnīh u ahravdāt u atuvānīkīh-ē i andar pašt u patmān*—means thus: "Chapter on indemnity and mulct and almsgiving and also insolvency in case of promise and agreement".¹ The inclusion of almsgiving into that association of concepts might be due to the fact that, in cases of non-fulfilment of an agreement, a certain sum was fixed to be spent in charity in atonement, sometimes directly at the conclusion of the agreement, in other instances at the subsequent elucidation of the same. For *atuvānīkīh*, i.e. "incapacity" of fulfilling the action agreed upon, through no fault of his own (*pa avināšīh* "through guiltlessness"), that is to say, through an act of Providence, compare my MiranM. 2.21 note 2, where the last part of the above chapter, relative to a case of such "incapacity", has been translated and discussed; cf. also below p. 12 f.

¹ Modi gives in the Introduction to MhD. XIV for the long heading the short translation: "Gifts to the pious (*Ahloban dād*)".

With reference to MhD. 58.4 ff. and 72.10 ff. The case MhD. 72.10 ff. begins with the words: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *u apāk¹-ē² an-ē hačaparnipišt ku . . .*, i.e.

"and again also another (sentence) is recorded above, namely". And, in fact, we find in MhD. 58.4 ff. a *dāt, stān* which, as to its contents, exactly corresponds to the one found in 72.10 ff. although its wording differs considerably from the above. It is most instructive, in order to form an opinion of the style and the power of exposition of the Sasanian lawyers, and, not less, of the wording and tradition of the Sasanian law-book, to have both these passages examined side by side.

¹ For 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *apāk*—"again" s. below p. 35.

² I transcribe the enclitical 𐭠𐭣 (= Awest. *ōit*, AP. *ōiy*) after consonants through *ēō*, in accordance with the spelling in Turian-Pahlavi; s. Bthl. ZumAirWb. 62.—After sonants it was pronounced *ō* or *ō_e* with an accompanying mutter-vowel expressed by 𐭠𐭣; thus, e.g. there is found side by side with 𐭠𐭣 *ā-ō* also 𐭠𐭣 *ā-ō_e* "also then", s. PV. 19.7 and PN. 170.18. The pronunciation *ō_e* is also suggested by the fact that the particle is often represented by 𐭠𐭣, i.e. the ideogram for *ōē* "what?", which came to be pronounced later first *ō_e* and then *ō_i* (= Pers. *ō_i*); s. Spiegel, Einl. 1. 148 and PahlT. 58.13: 𐭠𐭣 𐭠𐭣 *ō-ō_e* along with 𐭠𐭣 = *ō-ō*. It ought to be noted, that 𐭠𐭣 ought not to be decomposed necessarily into *ō+ī*; on the contrary, the 𐭠 can as well stand for *k=ā*; compare the frequently alternating forms 𐭠𐭣 and 𐭠𐭣, and for the value of that *ā* s. Bthl. WZKM, 27. 370 note*) But, even if that admission should not prove right, 𐭠𐭣 cannot mean *ō_i*, with an *i* (instead of *ō_e* with the mutter-vowel), for it is also written 𐭠𐭣 e.g. MhD. 18.10: 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, which certainly does not stand for *ōu*.

* MhD. 73. 17, 74. 3, 7 and MhDA. 13.17, there is a word 𐭠𐭣, in the first three passages quoted between an infinitive and the word *dahišn*. What does that mean? In West's "decree", SBE. 37.10 I do not believe.

rōč [i] *ōhrmazd x'āhēh 4 asp ō tō ap_espārom ēnīh tāvān dahom būt kē āngōn guft ku ka-š 5 pēš (i) hač ōhrmazd rōč asp bē mīrēt adak-č tāvān ō tōzišn ō rasēt*, i.e. "When he says: 'When thou claimest him on the day of *Ōhrmazd*, I shall give the horse up to thee or else pay an indemnity'—there have been [lawyers] who said thus: 'If the horse dieth before the day of *Ōhrmazd*, then also cometh the indemnity to be paid.'"

For the contents of the stipulation, giving a horse on lease as working power, see above. The horse must if my restoration of the gap be correct, be claimed (v. *ibid.*), and that on the day fixed for it (see below).

It is extraordinary, that in that particular instance—with the horse—the guiltless incapacity to fulfil the agreement is not considered as excluding the question of indemnity. Otherwise, as it seems, the cases of such incapacity—to fulfil an agreement with a fixed term for execution, s. BGB. §361,—were treated most leniently, as is shown by the case translated on p. 11 f. with reference to the slave. [A further instance of *atuvānikīh* is discussed in WZKM. 27. 361 ff.] From the manner, in which the legal standpoint expounded in the instance with the horse is introduced—with the words *būt kē āngōn guft* "fuit qui ita dixit"—one may, I presume, draw the conclusion that that standpoint was not shared by the author of the MhD., or, at least, that not all the Sasanian lawyers considered it under the same light].

On the other hand, text II, as MhD. 72. 3 ff. s. p. 8, contains the necessary fixed term of delivery—*rōč* [i] *vahmān* "on such and such day",—which is wanting in I.

A difference of exposition might be probably seen in what follows in I the words *ēnīh 200 bē dahom u* "otherwise I shall pay 200 [*dirham*] and" and what is wanting in II: the words *u pas* up to the sentence containing the term of execution.

Farther below the scribe of II is guilty of a further essential omission when he deviated from *atuvānik* to *atuvānikīh*; his original bore *pa ap_espārtan i farrox^v atuvānik u pa ān atuvānikīh avnās*, wholly corresponding with what stands in I. Whereas towards the end text II becomes again more complete, inasmuch as it contains the hardly dispensable *adak-č* after *rasēt* and at the end the quite indispensable *dahišn* after *nē*, which are both wanting in I. After *dahišn* (and before the sign

dividing the sentences . .) there stands in II besides ۱۱۹۵۱۱

nikīrītan which otherwise means in legal terminology "to investigate, to collect evidence for—"; thus, for instance, MhD. 7.2, 20.1.4, 35.9, 104.8, MhDA. 2.5, 7.11, and so on. (See also

۱۱۹۵۱۱ *nikīrāy* MhD. 6.4, 8.2, 13.14, 107. 4, 7, etc.) I do not see what its purport here might be.

The original text of the two versions might have been as follows:¹

(I) *ka farrox^v apāk āturfarnbay patmān kunēt ku hakar ka*

(II) *ka gōwēt ku hakar*

(I) *rōč i vahmān tō mihryōn x^vāhēh mihryōn ō tō ap_espārom ēnīh*

(II) *rōč i vahmān farrox^v x^vāhēh farrox^v ō tō ap_espārom ēnīh*

(I) *200 bē dahom u pas āturfarnbay mihryōn hač farrox^v x^vāhēh*

(II) *200 bē dahom u*

(I) *u farrox^v mihryōn nē ap_espārēt hakar farrox^v rōč i vahmān pa*

(II) *rōč i vahmān pa*

(I) *ap_espārtan i mihryōn atuvānik u pa ān atuvānikīh avinās ka-č*

(II) *ap_espārtan i farrox^v atuvānik u pa ān atuvānikīh avinās ka-č*

(I) *pas ō tuvānikīh rasēt adak_e-č tan nē ap_espārišn u 200-č nē*

(II) *pas ō tuvānikīh rasēt adak_e-č tan nē ap_espārišn u 200-č nē*

(I) *dahišn; i. e.*

(II) *dahišn; i. e.*

(I) When *Farrox^v* with *Āturfarnbay* make the agreement:
"when thou

(II) When he says: "when [thou]

(I) [on such and such day]² demandest *Mihryōn*, I shall

(II) on such and such day [demandest *Farrox^v*] I shall

(I) deliver to thee *Mihryōn* or else pay 200 ³ and

(II) deliver to thee *Farrox^v* or else pay 200³ and

(I) then *Āturfarnbay* demands *Mihryōn* from *Farrox^v* and

(II)

*

¹ Restored words are given in vertical type.

² Restored parts are put in []. ³ i. e. dirhams,

- (I) *Farrox*^o does not deliver *Mihryōn*, as long as *Farrox*^o [on such
 (II) on such
 (I) and such day] [is] for the delivery of *Mihryōn* incapable and
 (II) and such day [is] for the delivery of *Farrox*^o [incapable and
 (I) of that incapability guiltless, [then] even if he
 (II) of that] incapability guiltless, [then] even if he
 (I) later attains capability, also then the man [is] not to be
 (II) later attains capability, also then the man [is] not to be
 (I) delivered and also the 200 not [to be paid].
 (II) delivered and also the 200 not to be paid.

2 One cannot fail to recognize the close conceptional connection (also for the passage MhDA. 10.16) between the words *patmān* and *pašt*: the *patmān*—*ka mihryōn patmān kunēt* in the first case is again taken up below with *pašt*—*čē-š pašt ān žamān kart*; the extraordinarily voluminous *dāt, stān* MhDA.

10.13 foll. contains the identical *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* *pašt* besides that five times more and everywhere, indeed, combined with the words *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* *dāt* and *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* × ? × whereat *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* occupies three times the first place and twice the second, whilst *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* stands always at the end. With reference to what ought to be substituted for *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* which I consider to be a contamination, what the whole sentence has to mean, and about its application, see p. 16 foll.—The text of MhDA. 10.13—11.8 reads:

¹ *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥*
ku-m kunēt 10.14 patmān mihryōn ka ku guft vahrām
𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥
** duxt āturfarnbay i žanbūt ō sāl 10. hač pas x^oastak ēn*

¹ The edition *𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥* cf. below MhD. 17, 3 foll.

*Žanbūt*¹ the daughter of *Āturfarnbay*; +10.15 and *Žanbūt* dies within the 10 years—: some have said: *pašt dāt* x ? x² holds good: it is said that [then] the object goes to [her] father; because the stipulation was made by him at a time 17 when the income³ of *Žanbūt* belonged to her father⁴; and some have said: *pašt dāt* x ? x⁵ holds good: it is said that the object, as far as *Žanbūt* dies within the ten years, for the reason that the object was to fall to the woman 11.2 and the woman died, from the estate⁶ is [never] segregated⁷. If *Žanbūt* marries within the 10 years and dies within the same 10 years, even then it does hold good; for 4 when *pašt dāt* x ? x⁵ *Žanbūt* dies, the object must not fall to whomsoever it be. And, when *dāt pašt* x ? x⁵ the father⁸ also dies, even then the object falls to the family of the father; 6. it is not otherwise, as if he had said:., This object is given by me after 10 years as present to the father, ‘ and, if the father dies within the 10 years, then the object falls to the family of the father

The final passage of the *dāt, stān* (11.8 foll.) with the fifth example for the construction "*pašt dāt* × ? × " has certainly not been transmitted quite correctly and its meaning can therefore not be established with full certainty. It runs:

1. $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{3} = \frac{1}{6}$
 2. $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{5} = \frac{1}{20}$
 3. $\frac{1}{6} \times \frac{1}{7} = \frac{1}{42}$
 4. $\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{9} = \frac{1}{72}$
 5. $\frac{1}{10} \times \frac{1}{11} = \frac{1}{110}$
 6. $\frac{1}{12} \times \frac{1}{13} = \frac{1}{156}$
 7. $\frac{1}{14} \times \frac{1}{15} = \frac{1}{210}$
 8. $\frac{1}{16} \times \frac{1}{17} = \frac{1}{272}$
 9. $\frac{1}{18} \times \frac{1}{19} = \frac{1}{342}$
 10. $\frac{1}{20} \times \frac{1}{21} = \frac{1}{420}$

¹ The name serves to denote female persons, playing a rôle in the quoted legal cases; see p. 8, note 1; similarly MhDa. 23.15; 24. 14, etc. MhDa. 14. 12 the name is written ideographically 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹 .

What it means, I do not know; I do not believe the explanation by West MhDA. Introd. 21 "there was a woman, a certain woman" to be correct. *būt* certainly corresponds to the Greek *φύσις*. Another name used to designate women in the Sasanian juridical language has reached us in MhDA. 21. 9: 1st *beštan*; see for the same Unvala König Husrav" (Heidelberger Diss. 1917), 36 note a.

² For the meaning and the use of the words see p. 18 line 4 foll.

³ For *vindišn* see p. 53 foll.

⁴ As far as she—single at that time—was still *filia familias*.

⁵ Cf. above, note 2. ⁶ Of the donor; see above.

⁷ The donative connection expires with the death of the woman who was to profit by the donation, and is not extended on her heirs.

8 Of Žanbūt.

I think, that a concluding formula, as prescribed or used for the conclusion of verbal agreements in Sasanian times, has been preserved in the combination of those three words, a formula, the use of which was to give legal strength to the agreements made verbally, a formula, which thus corresponds in its meaning and effect to the Latin "spondesne? spondeo" in the case of the Roman "*stipulatio*"; see MiranM. 2. 14. In the *pašt dāt* or *dāt pašt*, i.e. "promissum (est) datum" I recognize a formula to be uttered by the promiser. I do not know, how to connect with it the third word 𐭥𐭥𐭥 . I attribute it to the stipulator, but I consider it to be a corruption.

𐭥𐭥𐭥 is the ideogram for 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xʷēš* "one's own". I think that the original copy bore 𐭥𐭥 for which one of the copyists had put 𐭥𐭥𐭥 "one's own", which is indeed very much similar in writing to the above 𐭥𐭥 and which is easily suggested by the contents of the text. That mistake occurs even without such a reason, see PahlT. ۳۲, § ۶۲ note 33, where in MK. there stands $\text{𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥} \times \times \times u \text{ nēwak}$, whereas the same Ms. gives the correct reading in § ۳۸— 𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥 , in §§ ۲۹, ۴۴, ۴۹, ۶۱—using the ideogram for $\text{𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥} \text{ } xʷāš u \text{ nēwak}$; one sees therefrom how easily it might have happened that the pen of the copyist should trace 𐭥𐭥𐭥 instead of 𐭥𐭥 . A later scribe had further put instead of 𐭥𐭥𐭥 its ideogram namely the 𐭥𐭥𐭥 under discussion. After the mistake had been once committed in one of the succeeding copies, it was—anything else could be hardly expected—repeated as many times as the same sentence occurred in the text.¹

The original 𐭥𐭥 , however, is *xʷāš*, i.e. "Well!" a word perfectly appropriate to express assent to a proposal and to

¹ Cf. also p. 19, note 3; p. 52, note 3.

denote the conclusion of an agreement based on the same. Thus it proves to be a counterpart of the Roman formula (the stipulator:) "spondesne?" (the promissor:) "spondeo"—in the reversed order of the speakers—the Sasanian: "*dāt pašt*" (or *pašt dāt*) "*xʷaš*", i.e. (the prom.:) "The promise is given", (the stipul.:) "Well!".

The quoting of formulas ("certa verba"),¹ the use and meaning of which must have been familiar to every businessman and the more so to every lawyer, has the purport of establishing for the reader's benefit that in the consecutive decision of the case it is surmised that the said formula has been used at the conclusion of the stipulation and that the agreement has been thus legally entered upon. We have to think in the above text the words as standing between dashes and in quotation-marks; an Indian would have used at the end of a sentence expressed in direct speech the final *iti*. Hence, 11, 3 foll.: *hakar*—'*pašt dāt. xʷaš*'—*žanbūt mīrēt* "when —'The promise is given. Well!'—*žanbūt dies*"; and 10. 15 foll.: '*dāt pašt. xʷaš*!'—*guft bavēt* "The promise is given. Well!'—it holds, as it had been said". Freely, but strictly to the point, it may be translated: "At the lawful conclusion of the stipulation"; and this translation is to be added above on p. 15 for *dāt pašt* × ? ×.

MPB. *𐭥𐭥𐭥* "well!".²

The question remains whether the MPB. *𐭥𐭥𐭥* *xʷaš* can be proved to have anywhere else as well the meaning of the German "**gut!**" or the English "**well!**" admitted by me for the above passages. Taking into consideration the general trend of the MPB. literature, we can hardly expect to find any great number of such examples. Still I am in a position to quote two such instances, of which one certainly appears in a rather peculiar garb (see below under b).

¹ Cf. p. 52, note 3.

² For the etymology of the word see Gauthiot, Gr. Sogd. 150*, where a MS. *xʷašānt* "quia bon oell, bien content" is quoted.

* The book by R. Gauthiot "Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne" (Première partie);—XVIII and p. 183, is, as I hear, little known and then only in a few abstracts. It is marked "Communication privée". I do not consider myself committing any indiscretion by quoting the same, nay, I think it my duty of honour with regard to the author from whose hand the pen has been snatched away by a premature death.

or less in tune with the context. Yet I am unable to squeeze out the form of the verb "to live" necessary for its correctness without altering the word itself. The finite present-

forms of the verb—Inf. ژيڤستان *živ, stan*—are always spelt

in MPB. with ژ *živ* (*zīv°*), corresponding, indeed, to the MPT ZYV°. A **ziyā* in the sense of "vivas" could certainly occur in Mod. Pers. grown up from *zī* (زی), 2nd Sing. Imp. with *ā*, i.e. with the "affix—*ā*" discussed in the GLrPh. Ib. 152; but, not in MPB. Besides, supposing the possibility of its occurring in MPB., it would have been, to all certainty, spelt

ژيان and not ژيان ; cf. ژيان (= Mod. Pers. زیان) *ziyān* "damage".

It might have been the same considerations that have induced Salemann (o.c. 244) to read ژيان rather *zihī*, corresponding to the Mod. Pers. interjection زيه *zihī* (GLrPh. I b 167) and to render it by "Heil". Yet even that reading, as indeed Salemann himself admits, is incompatible with the traditional spelling. And it seems that he himself, most probably for that same reason, has since abandoned his notion with regard to that word; for in GLrPh. Ia. 323 § 128 where evidenced interjections of MPB. are quoted by Salemann, the above MPB. word is not mentioned, although the meaning of the Mod. Pers. *zihī*—"excellent! bravo!"—is quite an appropriate one.

The correct reading and meaning of that ژيان is found, if we decompose the order of signs by the middle, taking as elsewhere the first part of it to be ژ , the ideogram for *ān* "that" substituting for the same the phonetic writing of the word ژ , instead of the ideogram, and further reading the whole accordingly ژيان : *x'aš*. The copyist was unacquainted with the seldom occurring MPB. word; see p. 17.

The above is therefore to be translated accordingly: The King. . . . said thrice: "Well! O V. . . .". The "thrice" certainly concerns only the first word of the sentence *x'aš*; here it is repeated twice, in AVN. 3. 18 once only.

The same word with the same meaning is used in Mod. Pers. as well. In most cases it is then increased by an *-ā*: خوش *xušā*, rendered by Palmer through "well!, very well!". It also occurs reduplicated: خوش خوش *xuš xuš*, see Vullers under جوی.

3. MhDa. 40. 16—17 runs:

۱ کدد نرسو سغ لرسو او سغ د نرسو لرسو او سغ
 سغ نرسو د 17 نرسو او ۱۲ لرسو سغ نرسو سغ
 ۱۲ نرسو او ۱۲ لرسو نرسو سغ

Then the text breaks off at the end of the folio, leaving the sentence unfinished, and the next folio is lost. Is the wording of the manuscript actually copied quite correctly? It is very much to be deplored that the part of the Sasanian law-book preserved in the MhDa. had not been reproduced mechanically like the first published part of the same (in the MhD.). Considering the difficulty of the matter, and being aware that the texts are certainly also—only one manuscript being available!—transmitted nothing less than faultlessly, one remains everlastingly in a state of uncertainty. But the meaning of

نرسو does not seem therefore any more doubtful; with regard to the construction *pašt kartan apāk*, see p. 23, line 17.

I take it for granted that: (1) after سغ نرسو *guft ku a* نرسو

ka has been omitted; (2) before نرسو *frazandān* likewise

ان) *u* had fallen out, and that (3) the *i* before نرسو *x'āstak* must be obliterated. I read, therefore: *u an-ē guft ku ka apāk žan i stūr pašt kunēt ku-m ēn 17 x'āstak ō tō u frazandān āngōn dāt ku ō dūtak kē tō patiš stūr hēh*, and I translate it as follows: And another [sentence] runs: If he contracts with a woman who has the *cura* [for the family], the stipulation: "This object 17 is by me given as present to thyself and th[in]e children in such a way that to the family of which thou hast the *cura*. . . .". With reference to *stūr* "keeper, curator" and *stūrih* "keeping, *cura*", see SRb. 14, note 1; 24 note 1. Cf. also p. 27, line 1 foll.

after the expiration of the fixed term in order that a new term of fulfilment should be arrived at; cf. for it our BGB. §326, par. 1. Besides and above, consult MhD. 73, 15-17 and 74, 2, where the question is discussed, whether the defendant comes

to give 'evidence' (*ō gōw šavēt*) or not.

And obviously to the same thing reference is made in the Dēnkart (DkM. 706, 12):

..... *u apar* . . . *žamān ō gōw kartan ka pasēmār nē āyēt adāp āyēt u* . . . , i.e. And with regard to . . . the

time for the making of the statement, if the defendant does

not come or comes and . . . ; see for it West, SBE. 37, 55 (in § 11), who translates *gōw*—as well as *gōwišn*, e.g. in DkM. 711. 6, 18, in SBE. 37. 61—by "statement".

5. MhDA. 7. 6: *pa pašt*

i apāk ham kart;

6. MhDA. 18. 11: *apāč ō pašt i pas ēstāt*;

apāč ō pašt i pas ēstāt;

7. MhD. 21. 2: *hač pašt i*

andar mihryōn;

8. MhD. 17. 3 foll.: *pēs hač ān pašt*.

pēs hač ān pašt.

u pas hač ān pašt:

The four passages are not sufficiently clear to me; possibly, not quite correctly transmitted; yet that they contain the same *pašt* as the one discussed above, is hardly, I think, to be contested; for *pašt kartan apāk*—(in 5) see above p. 21; with reference to the use of *andar* in connection with *pašt* (in 7)

The case is as follows : A has bought from B a useful object on credit and bound himself by the obligation to keep the object up to the settlement of the purchase-price as a deposit, without using the same, or else, should he use it, to warrant a corresponding remuneration ; should the buyer further effect a part payment, he will be—in proportion to the instalment paid—freed from a part of the total amount of his debt and of the deposit-obligation and deposit-responsibility, and a corresponding part of the remuneration already paid is returned to him.

Not quite so obvious and therefore not so convincing is the *dāt, stān* in MhD. 31. 12-15 ; it is evidently very much mutilated towards the middle of the passage. The beginning runs :

כאן משהוא ראש 13 וכל ובעצמו וטמא (ד) טמא
 וטמא ראש משהוא דלמא וטמא טמא ט
 משהוא טמא.

ka x'āstak bē ō žan u frazand (i) dāt u pas bē frōšēt adāp graw kunēt adāp āpām stanēt, i.e. If he has given as a present an object to the wife and her children and after that sells it or pawns it as a dead-pledge or encumbers it with a mortgage¹; the passage ends with the words :

כ טמא 15 ראש משהוא טמא ו ט
 משהוא טמא טמא טמא.

ān āpām 15 bē apāyēt tōxt u ān x'āstak drust apāyēt dāštan, i.e.: The mortgage must be cancelled and the object kept in deposit. It seems to me, that there cannot possibly be any doubt as to the actual purport of the *dāt, stān*, in spite of the derangement of its text. The "pater familias" is not allowed to make ineffectual through later measures the gift bestowed before and made legally valid on his wife and children ; should he have taken, such measures, they have to be cancelled and the object bestowed as gift is to be taken into custody until the time when it is to come into force—it

¹ According as to whether movables on real estate is concerned. For the meaning of *āpām* and *āpām stātan* see below p. 45 foll.

her or against her.¹ Yet, if the husband contracts a legal affair conjointly, in company² (cf. p. 4) with the wife with regard to a third person, the wife is considered with reference to that particular affair and for the duration of the validity of the same as freed from the conjugal authority of the husband; she is then actionable, without it necessitating a special authority from the husband; and the execution of the clause of the agreement, as far as a conjoint indebtedness has arisen from that conjoint legal affair ($\text{hamp} \times \times \times \text{ih}$)⁴, can be exacted by the creditor without any further conditions indiscriminately both from the wife and the husband; cf. p. 3.

With regard to this, of importance is the passage MhDa. 6. 14—16:

טמור וטמורא שפא פאר זיך וטמורא נ טמורא
 ודא טמורא שפא שו 15 פאר טמורא ד וטמורא
 טמורא ד ד טמורא וטמורא טמורא 3 שו ד טמורא
 ו ד ד וטמורא 16 טמורא [א] וטמורא טמורא 4 טמורא .:

¹ I am unable to make fit together with the wording of the text the contradictory translation of DkM. 706. 16 ff. by West in SBE. 37. 55, lines 16-18. The passage could be eventually considered as concerning a particular case similar to the one discussed above.

² With reference to "company" (in the legal sense)—*hambāyih*, p. 31 foll. details can be found in MhD. 1. 17 ff. and 85. 7 ff. in two special chapters; see further 22. 3 ff.; 51. 15 ff. Companions are there divided in such who possess a joint property (hamxāstak) and such

who have conjoint liabilities ($\text{hamp} \times \times \times$).* The MhDa. 1. 3, etc. adds to it a third class: of those, who have a joint income or profit, see below p. 57 foll.—MhDa. 4. 4 uses instead of *hamxāstak* āknēn xwēš "possessing common property".

* I am unable to decipher the graphical combination $\text{MhD. 2. 9, 112, 12—noreven 2. 8, nor 56. 3, nor 2. 1.}$

³ The edition טמורא ; see note 4 and p. 14, note 1.

⁴ The edition טמורא ; see note 3.

gyāk 1 nipišt ku ka andar¹ žan i pāt,xšāyihāh vičir hanbašēt ku-t pa 15 hambāy dārom ān žan xwāstak i ān mart xwēš bavēt pa ān dast,warīh ō ān žan 16 rasēt u bē dāt pāt,xšāy i.e. In one place it is written: If he² draws up for the chief wife the statement: "I consider thee 15 as [my] partner", the estate of the husband becomes the property of that wife, it goes over on the strength of that declaratory act to the wife, 16 and she is entitled to spend it.

I should like to point out that the expression *ān žan xwāstak i ān mart xwēš bavēt* " (thus) becomes for that wife the estate of the husband her own", is, of course, not to be taken quite literally. Through A declaring B to be his partner (*hambāy*), he makes him a co-owner in his estate in such a way that B is entitled to control the same to the same extent as himself.

In the same sense as here *pa hambāy dāštan*, "to consider as a partner" (literally "to have"), is used in MhDa. 5. 16; 6. 2, *pa hambāyih pat,griftan* "to take into partnership". The insubordination³ of the wife and its consequences are discussed therein, MhDa. 5. 15—6. 1:

¹ *vičir hanbāštan andar*—"to draw up a statement with reference to—"; similarly MhD. 33. 7; cf. p. 23, ll. 4-3 fr. below, p. 45, line 15.—For *hanbāštan* see MiranM. 2. 37 foll.

² The husband.

³ I am unable to read the signs expressing the conception of "insubordination, disobedience": 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. The edition dissects the word in such a manner as if it were representing a combination with 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *kas* "somebody". As a matter of fact, however, an abstract formation from a negatived present participle in *-āk* (at $\times \times \times$ *ākīh*) is contained therein, which is, indeed, proved by MhDa. 6. 1 (𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥) and 6. 4 (𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥).

It would be quite natural to think of the verb 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tarsītan*. But 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tarsāk* has generally the meaning "Christian", as also the corresponding Mod. Pers. 𐭥𐭥𐭥 *tarsā*; similarly in the MhD., thus for instance MhD. 1. 10: *anšahrīk i tarsāk xwēš* (for that WZKM. 27. 347).

With regard to the meaning of the graphical combination there cannot be any doubt. The following definition is found in the MhDa. 5. 6 foll:

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

16 *ka-š pa hambāyīh pat,grift adāp-aš šōd*
xwāstak pa xwēših awiš dāt 17 *ēštāt ka-š at × × × ākih gōwēt*
xwāstak i-š patiš ēštāt apāč ō šōd 6.1 *rasēt u žan ēn dāt,stān*
nē bavēt ka patāk kunēt ku t × × × āk būt hom, i.e.: When the
 chief wife is received by him into partnership [regarding the
 estate] or [when] money as property has been bestowed on
 her by the husband—: and if he charges her [then] with insub-
 ordination, then the money, which is in her possession, goes
 back on the husband. But that *dāt,stān* is not valid against
 the wife if she makes the legal declaration: "I have not been
 insubordinate".

žan i pāt,xšāyīhāh 16 *ka-š pa hambāyīh pat,grift adāp-aš šōd*
xwāstak pa xwēših awiš dāt 17 *ēštāt ka-š at × × × ākih gōwēt*
xwāstak i-š patiš ēštāt apāč ō šōd 6.1 *rasēt u žan ēn dāt,stān*
nē bavēt ka patāk kunēt ku t × × × āk būt hom, i.e.: When the
 chief wife is received by him into partnership [regarding the
 estate] or [when] money as property has been bestowed on
 her by the husband—: and if he charges her [then] with insub-
 ordination, then the money, which is in her possession, goes
 back on the husband. But that *dāt,stān* is not valid against
 the wife if she makes the legal declaration: "I have not been
 insubordinate".

at × × × ākih i žanān ēn bavēt kār i frārōn i-š šōd framāyest nē kartan
u ān i apārōn i nē kartan gōwēt kartan, i.e.: As insubordination of the
 wives is considered this: not to do a good work which the husband has
 ordered her to do, and to do the evil works which the husband forbids
 her to do.—That concerns, moreover, not only the idea of the insubor-
 dination of the wife, but of all the members of the family with regard
 to the detainer of the family authority; cf. the chapter on insub-
 ordination MhDa. 4. 12—8. 2 and, besides, 3. 15-17, see below p. 56.

¹ As often instead of *ka*.

² The final sign of the word in the manuscript is the one discussed
 above p. 25, note.

II. MHD. 101. 4-8.

[Regarding the main-, the collateral and the intermediary marriage.]

And again 5
another [sen-
tence] is utter-
red by *Dā t-*
farrox^v &
*Siyāvaš*¹: The
husband is en-
titled² to give

¹ Two often quoted lawyers ; see p.16.

² *pāi.xšāy* “entitled” (line 7), when constructed with an infinitive, is mostly placed at the very end of the sentence; see for instance MhD. 6. 14 (p. 3); 2. 4 (p. 44); MhDA. 1. 5; 7. 2, etc.—For the construction of *pāi.xšāy*—either with an infinitive or with a subjunctive proposition introduced by *ka*—see Freiman, WZKM. 20. 264 foll. note, whose examples might be strongly increased from the MhD. Yet the meaning of the construction *nē pāi.xšāy bē ka. . .* (literally: “non potest praeter quod . . .”) is to be determined exactly in the opposite sense of what happens to be there. The passage PN (Tahm.) 20. 10 foll.

Freiman Ehrp. 2. 4): *ne pāt, aṣṭāy bē ka śavēti*
 does not mean: "he cannot go" but, indeed, "he cannot but go", i.e.,
 "he has to go", "facere non potest ut non eat"; it stands in

the explanation of the words : *ṣānandapar pa oḥmuriśñīh bē rawāt*, “how far has one to go [away from home] for the purpose of reading litanies?”, through which the Awesta-text *eva aiwištem parayat* is rendered—see for it AirWb. 1764 above—and, which runs fully as follows :

rāh patmānakāṇāṃ ān i nē pātṛṣṣāy bē ka śavēt, i.e. the distance of the way, how great is it, which he has to go? Compare further MhD. 6. 8 foll.; 40. 9; 45. 15, 16 foll.; 46. 2; 50. 14 foll. 58. 3; 85. 15 foll. and especially MhD. 5. 7 foll., where the sentences:

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय । . . nē pāt_oxśāy bē ka. . . āyētī

"he must . . . come" and ಪಾಟು ಪಟ್ಟು ಪಾಟು ಪಾಟು *pāt,xšāy ka nē āyēt* "he needs not come" are opposed to each other, likewise Mh.D.85.

11 foll.; it concerns a watering-ditch (ウサ *katas*), which is conjointly built by two men; the passage runs:

၁၂၁၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့

ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣਿਤ ਕਰਾਏ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣਿਤ ਕਰਾਏ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣਿਤ ਕਰਾਏ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣਿਤ ਕਰਾਏ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣਿਤ ਕਰਾਏ

his wife to another, who is
 niruzdāh ān pa u niruzd frazand 6 pa
 [in] need of children 6 and is innocent of

that need and expresses his demand of the wife in a conformable way

7 [and indeed] even without the assent of the wife; and when he gives [her] the property 8 of the wife does not go over to the person to whom he gives her.

7 [and indeed] even without the assent of the wife; and when he gives [her] the property 8 of the wife does not go over to the person to whom he gives her.

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The text of the *dāt, stān* has been transmitted—a case not often to be encountered in instances of a *dāt, stān* of a greater volume—quite irreproachably. With regard to my reading *an-ē* for *an-ē*, see p. 13 note 1; in any case, the regular reading *ōē*—“to give his chief-wife to the one who . . .” would also hold good.

For the contents of the *dāt, stān* see below 2 and especially 3.

Linguistical and objective remarks.

1. *an-ē* *an-ē* *u apāk an-ē guft*.

With regard to *an-ē* “another” see AirWb. 138. *an-ē* spells as elsewhere *apāk*, but not the ordinary *apāk* derived from the Præ-Iran. **upākam*, which means “together (with)” =

tāk spurr bavēt hamē ka ēvak kanēt ān i dīt nē pāt, xšāy bē ka kanēt adāp awšōn bahr i xšāy apar ōē i dīt bē hilišn, i.e. “until it (the canal) is ready, always when one is digging the other must [also] be digging or, [he must] leave his part of the profit to the other one”.

* Ms. *an-ē*.

Pers. ب , but the one having its origin in * *apākam* : "back, again" = Pers. و , *vā* in *vā dāštan* "to retain, to restrain", *vā dādan* "to restore" etc.; compare for it Hübschmann, PSt. 21, 22 foll.¹ The construction *apāk an-ē* "item aliud" is to be encountered often enough in MhD. in introductions to a new *dāt, stān*; thus, *u apāk an-ē guft*, as above, is to be found also in MhD. 102. 9, 12, 13, 15; 103. 7, 12, etc.; further, with the same verb, but with slight variations: *apāk an-ē guft*, MhD. 101. 1; 102. 3, 15; MhDA. 2. 4, etc.; similarly, when quoting some author: *apāk an-ē pusānvēh . . . guft*, MhD. 99. 3, 17²; further, with another verb: *apāk an-ē nipišt*, " . . . it is written", MhD. 6. 15, see also 19. 12, *apāk-ē an-ē nipišt* MhD. 6. 17; *apāk-ē an-ē hačapar nipišt* MhD. 72. 10; *apāk an-ē . . . nipēsēnd*, " . . . they write", MhD. 110. 13 foll.; *u apāk an-ē čāšt ēstēt*, " . . . it is being taught", MhD. 106. 17. Instead of (*u*) *apāk an-ē guft* there often stands merely (*u*) *an-ē guft*, see MhD. 99. 8, 13, 15, 17, etc., or *an-ē-ē* (د د) *guft ēstēt* MhD. 19. 16; and along with *apāk an-ē*

pusānvēh guft there is also found *ēvak an-ē pusānvēh guft*, MhD. 95. 12; see also 95. 15; 96. 3, 8, 10 foll., 12, 16.

2. Main wives and collateral wives.

$\text{د د د د د د د د د د}$ (or also $\text{د د د د د د د د د د}$)

*žan i pāt, xšāyihāh*³ is the chief wife, i.e. the rightful⁴ wife, who is at the same time the mistress of the house

(د د د د د *katak bānūk*), as opposed to the collateral wife, the

د د د د *žan i čakarihāh*; see for it Bthl. SRb. 6

foll. If, as according to the above text, the husband enjoys the right of ceding the main wife according to his own good will to another, even without her assent, he is the more so entitled to act in that way with regard to the collateral wife. As the head of the family (د د د د د *katak x'atāy*) the husband

¹ For the difference MPB. *apāk*—*apāč* (from the Iran. * *up*) see *frāk*—*frāč* (from * *fr*); cf. Bthl. IF. 12. 99 note.

² See also below p. 56 in MhDA. 3. 13 foll.

³ In Pers. *Rivāyat's* د د د د د *pādišāh zan* or د د د د *šāh zan*.

⁴ West translates "privileged".

wields the family authority (سرداری - ۱۹۴۴) *sardārīh* i *dūtāk* or *dūtāk sardārīh*¹), of course, with certain restrictions, which concern, however, chiefly his position with regard to the main wife, cf., for instance, Bthl. SRb. 7, line 6 foll. and above p. 26 foll. See also below 3, p. 41 foll.

The Modern-Persian Parsi writings of the 15-17th centuries, the so-called "*Rivāyat's*" (SRb. 6, note 2) distinguish five categories of married women which are designated by special denominations; see for it SRb. 6, further ZendHss., 36 f., 131,

133,* 42 foll. Except the once occurring, PFr. 2 f. MPB. سرمدی

which corresponds to the fifth of the denominations quoted therein, see SRb. 13, note,² I find in Middle-Persian texts only the first denomination (*pātozšāy*) and the fourth (*čakar*) by which the main and the collateral wives are designated here; see above.

The authors of the *Rivāyat's* certainly avoid altogether mentioning the conception of "collateral wife"—which is the actual meaning of *čakar*³—, for their writings are based on the norm of a strictly monogynous marriage, and the word *čakar* has accordingly, been given by them a new interpretation, see SRb. 7. — yet, one has only to remember the explanation of × *hafsne* × in F. 2 foll. (see line 22 foll.), as well as Houtum-Schindler's communications about the matrimonial circumstances of the modern Parsis in Persia, ZDMG. 36. 87. Even at present "a man can have there (in Yezd) two wives simultaneously". It is true that he is allowed to take a second wife only when the first one remains childless. If, further, the second wife also remains barren, he is even allowed to take a third one. That

¹ See for it Sachau, Syr. Rechtsb. 3. 290, 318. The conception has gone over with the word into the Syriac legal language. Cf. further below p. 54.

² This denomination appears in the *Rivāyat's* in several variants which do not allow of a sure decision as to its original shape. The above Pahlavi-signs might be read *xvasrāyōn*, the second part of which could be correlated with the JAw. *grdyavan*—; but the meaning of the JAw. word is quite uncertain, see AirW. 805.

³ Independently of how it is to be understood etymologically. The word has the outward appearance of a reduplicated formation. One might be induced to think of a relation with JAw. *čarānā* f. (AirWb. 581). Compare also Johansson, WZKM. 19. 237; Scheftelowitz, ZDMG. 59. 696, and Brugmann, Grdr. 2a. 425.

is confirmed by the Kurdish; Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 38. 94, who quotes, as Kurdish of Khorāsān: *vasnī*, 'two wives of one husband call each other *vasnī* 'rival'.

I consider this Persian *vasnī* to be derived from some Iran. **hapathnī kâ*.¹ The absence of the syllable *ha-* at the beginning of the word has nothing extraordinary in itself; compare the correlated word-forms: MPT. HS'GYRD *hašāgerd*—Arm. borrowed word *ašakert*—Pers. شاگرد *šāgird* "(priest) pupil"; see for it Bthl. ZumAirWb. 38, MiranM. I. 42. and Hübischmann, PSt., 120 foll. Likewise there is nothing peculiar about the initial *v* instead of the ancient *-p-*; cf. Pers

وارون *vārūn*, MPB. واپرون *apārōn*, and Pers. وَا *vā*, MPB.

(واپر =) *apāk*, above p. 34 foll.; see for it Hübischmann, PSt., 176, and Horn, GlrPh. 7b. 49 foll. There is an actual difficulty only in the *-s-* of *vasnī*, corresponding to the *θ* of the JAw. **hapathnī*-, instead of which one would expect, in conformity with the usual transmutation of the *θ* - *h-*.

I would however draw attention to the fact that amongst the examples for the MPB. and the Pers. *-h-* evolved from *-θ-*, as given by Salemann, GlrPh. 1a, 261, Hübischmann, PSt. 203 foll. and Horn GlrPh. 7b. 93 foll., not one example of *-hn-* from *-θn-* is quoted. I have certainly suggested in AirWb.

196, 963, 1021, that the MPB. وولم meaning "an ell, elbow" should be read *arhn*, and that this should be considered an outcome of the JAw. *arəθna*- and as the source of the Pers. آرن *āran*. That was a mistake; the Pers. *āran* is rather covered by the Greek ἄλεν Hübischmann, PSt. 208),

وولم, however, or وولم, is similarly to وولم PF. 3g. merely a transliteration of the Awest. *arəθna*-. But, even, if *arhn*, with *-hn-* instead of *-θn-* after *r*, had been the correct reading, it could not have been proved by it, that *-θn-* could likewise become *-hn-* after a vowel. As quite uncertain at the least, must also be considered my reading *pihn* (AirWb. 906)—

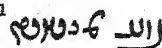

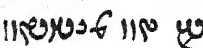
¹ Cf. Pers. کنی *kanī*, MPT. کانیک *kanīk*, from **kanī kâ*-, alongside with JAw. *kainī*[ōa].

which presupposes the existence of a pre-Iran. **pīθn*^o—for the MPB. 𐭯𐭮𐭥 or 𐭯𐭮𐭥 which serves to render the JAw., *°piθwa*- “nourishment”—see AirWb. 642f., 731, 808f., 965—but which is also encountered elsewhere, see Horn, NpEt. 289, West, SBE. 37. 54 note. West is inclined to read the combination *pishōn* or else *pīkhvō*—see also Mills ZDMG. 60. 92 in § 5—, whereas Horn loc. cit. thinks the combination ought to be read *pīsn*.



Any reading of the MPB. 𐭯𐭮𐭥 which would bring it as near as possible to the JAw. *°piθwa*-, which it is intended to translate, would certainly have the preference before all the other readings. The circumstance which deterred me from correlating the words was that to the JAw. *frapiθwa*- “copiosus”—with *i* or *i*—there corresponds the MPB. 𐭯𐭮𐭥 *frapīh* “fat”, and that also otherwise the pre-Iran. *-θw*- is succeeded by MP. *-h*-, see Bthl. WZKM. 30. 16. I should be now inclined to read 𐭯𐭮𐭥 “nourishment” *pihan* and to bring it back to an Ar. **pit-yan*^o which would stand in the same relation to the Greek *παρ-έομαι* “I eat”, as the Greek *εἰδάρη*¹ “nourishment”, from **ed-yan*^{to} to *εἶδω* “I eat”, see for it Brugmann Grdr. 2. 2a. 320¹. Synonymous words from different “roots” do indeed show most often the same termination; it might be that **pətiyen* was formed after **edyen*—or the reverse—, or else the synonymous but differently derived words might have later developed a similarity between them; see for it Paul, “Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte” under the heading “Kontamination”.

With such a scarcity in comparatively convincing proofs it seems to me most questionable, indeed, whether the statement that the pre-Iran. *-θn*- becomes Mlr. *hn*- could be upheld, at least on such a wide scale. I shall not lay unnecessary stress upon the fact, that for V. 3, 20 = 9, 49 in the translation of the atonement-sentence contained therein the JAw. *pariti-mīθnāiti* “he desists from, he renounces” is rendered through

¹ Alongside with the Greek *εἶδω*, *εἰδάρη* the Aī. *°advan*- and *°advara*- “eating” must also be taken into consideration.

¹  *bē misnēt*; because in that particular instance the verb *misnēt* may be considered as a borrowed word relative to the cult. But it is not so easy to vindicate the hypothesis of being borrowed in the instance of the verb  *misnītan* in general, which occurs ten times—always in the combination  *andar tan misnītan*—DkM. 305. 3—15; I do not, it is true, sufficiently understand the text² so as to form a decisive opinion, but I think I may state that the verb here discussed must have a different meaning from the one encountered in V. 3. 20; the former being related to *maēθ-* “mittere”, the latter being correlated in my opinion with *maēt-* “to linger”, see AirWb. 1105 foll.

Yet, be it as it is, and should there even be found a more convincing example proving the MP. *-hn-* out of the pre-Iran. *-θn-*: still there always remains the possibility of that *-θn-* continuing besides in *-hn-*, dialectically also under another shape, namely in *-sn-*. We certainly have precisely for the pre-Iran *-θ-* the same twofold substitution also before other sonorous consonant sounds, and before *r* and *-sn-*; see GIrPh. 1a, 165 § 280 foll. and the MPT. PVHR *puhr*—PVS *pus*, “son”: JAw. *puθrō*; MPT. XVYBŠ *x^oēbaš*—MSS. XYPΘ *xēpaθ* “own”: JAw. *x^aēpaiθya*.³ And it is exactly *-n-* which has had a peculiar influence, differing from all the other sonorous consonant sounds, e.g. *m*, on the preceding consonants, in any case already in pre-Iranian times; see GIrPh. 1a, 13 § 28, 1a, and 16 § 39. 3a; cf. JAw. *frašnəm* “question”—AI. *praśnām*, on the other hand, JAw. *asma*—AI. *āsmā*, and GAw. *sāsñā* “commandments”—AI. *šāsti* “he commands”, but *ahmī* “I am”—AI. *āsti* “he is”. In any case, a comparison of sounds based on an obvious correspondence of words—as I recognize it for instance in the correspondence of the Pers. *vasnī* with the AI. *sapātnī-* (JAw. **hapañnī-*)—, more reliable than the one based exclusively on grammatical hypotheses without being at all convincingly exemplified.

¹ 3rd sing., thus correctly IM.; otherwise  *om* or  *em*, 1st sing.

² A so-called translation of the passage is to be found in Sanjana's DkS. 7. 446, § 4-8. Nobody could guess from the same that the original text contains ten times the same combination *andar tan misnītan*.

³ See for it Btlh. IF. 23. 74 f., 80 f. and zEt. & Wb. 34 foll.

Amongst the many passages of the MhD. attesting of polygynous marriages one is especially noteworthy, because it shows that a man was not only entitled to have along with a main-wife one or several collateral wives, but that he even could have had at one and the sametime two main-wives (*žan i pāt-xšāyihāh*, see above p. 35). The mention occurs in that passage of MhDa. 1. 2, where an agreement with regard to an industrial partnership (*hamvindišnīh*, see p. 57) concluded by a husband with his two main-wives is discussed

مارت ۱ اپاک ژان ۲ ۱ پات، خشاییه‌ها ۱ خ‌زښ "vir unus cum

mulieribus duobus privilegariis suis"; see for it below p. 53 on *vindišn*.

Considering that every main-wife is at the same time also "the mistress of the house" (see p. 35), such a kind of multiple marriage did most probably necessitate also a multiplicity of households; it must therefore have occurred the more seldom as it was more expensive.

3. On "Intermediary" marriages.

The word *niruzd* *نیرزد* "decayed, impoverished, needy" has been borrowed from Avestan (see AirWb. 1493) and is still written in a way that more exactly reproduces the JAw. *niuruzda*-(*niuruzda*-) *نیرزد*; see also DkM 737. 11; 750. 14 foll.; the explanation for PN. 25. 20 runs: *سە گۆشت نەست* *ku nē nayn*

nē gōšt nēst, i.e. "there is neither bread, nor meat". The reason for which the husband A has to give up his main-wife to the head of the family B on the latter's request (see p. 6 line 20f.) and which entitles him to do so even without her consent, is a noteworthy one: it is the economic difficulty of B which has to be checked. In that way, the whole procedure falls under the conception of charity (*ahravdāt*, see p. 6), the benevolent (*dūšārmihāh*, MiranM. 2. 8) practice of which with regard to an indigent correlative is prescribed by the Mazdayasnian creed as one of the foremost duties. Most charac-

¹ Mss. incorrectly *نەست*: a mistake often encountered.

teristically it is not the estate of the wife which has to serve as means of support—her dowry or what she might have earned—for it is stated most emphatically that the object (*xāstak*) of the wife does not go over with her,¹—but merely her working power. The wife is lent by her lord (*sardār*, see SRb. 8), as a slave by his master (see above p. 8 foll.), or as a horse by his owner (see above p. 10 foll.), given in usufruct, and that half-marriage is, indeed, lasting—thus, according to WZKM. 27. 366; this class of marriages could be still better designated as an intermediary (interim), marriage—as long as it pleases A, or as long as it seems necessary for the putting in order of B's household. The authority (*sardārih* "manus") over the wife remains in that case with A; yet, it is incumbent by the circumstances that, for the duration of the accorded and accomplished intermediary marriage, authority to a certain extent should be exercised by B as householder, who is considered as delegated or empowered for it—for "without authority there can be no marriage"; see MhD. 5. 1, Bthl. SRb. 14—, but he also had to take upon himself and to fulfil certain duties with regard to the wife lent to him, see for it below. The children born during the intermediary marriage return, according to MhD. 3. 17 foll.—Bthl. SRb. 8 foll.—as his property, to A, as the rightful lord of the wife on the ground of full marriage. It often happens that a wife and a slave are summed up together in the decisions of the MhD., see Bthl. WZKM. 27. 359. The fact is that they are both considered on principle legally not as subjects, but as objects, as a thing; the natural fruits of such a "thing" must, of course, belong to its owner, not to the temporary usufructuary.

The temporary lease of the wife of A to B is effected on the latter's request: "when B has expressed in a proper way his wish to have the wife". I understand the expression "in a proper way" *dātiḥāh*, literally "legaliter", thus: the request was to be made in an established form including the use of certain formulas (*certa verba*)². The matter was considered under the light of an agreement; in return of the act requested by B from A, B had also to engage himself to effect certain counter-duties, especially, to take care (*cura*) of the wife received

¹ Cf. also DkM. 4. 13 foll.—Bthl. SRb. 13.

² Cf. for it p. 16 and p. 52, note 3.

on lease; see Bthl. WZKM. 27. 356.¹ Since it was possible that certain formulas had been created for the conclusion of such agreements, it is obvious that such cases were not at all uncommon.

The same is also proved by another circumstance: namely, that there existed certain denominations for the man and the woman having contracted such an intermediary marriage; in

the full marriage they were named 𐭠𐭣𐭥 *šōd* and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *žan*, in

the half- (or intermediary) marriage 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *mērak* and 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 ,

which I read according to its origin *zyānak*, without being able to vouch for the correctness of the reading; cf. for it Bthl. SRb. 16 and WZKM 27. 366, where the meaning of *mērak* and *zyānak* has already been correctly established. That this special meaning had been later on effaced and had in general ceded its place to the more common: husband and wife—thus in the dialect of the Parsis of the present day in Persia, see SRb. 16 foll., among the Lurs, see Mann, *Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, 189 (*mērā*), 191 (*shū*), and in Kurdish, see Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 38. 90 (*mīreh*)² 76, (*šū*)³, does not seem to me to contain anything extraordinary in itself; with the modification of the customs those names also lost their special significance.

Finally it must be pointed out that the obligation of charity could not have been alone the reason for the institution of such an intermediary marriage; the same must have obviously been the outcome of an amicable arrangement between the husband and wife as well, as might be seen from MhD. 3. 15 foll., see SRb. 8 foll.

¹ In the first instance there is the question of providing for; see MhD. 32. 12 f. (Bthl. SRb. 7), where the mention is made of 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xvariēn u dāriēn* "board and maintenance", and MhD.

7. 9 foll., 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *xvariēn u vastrak* "board and clothing".

² Just i Dictionnaire Kurde 392b. brings together *mēr* "husband" with *mīr* "man"; see also Houtum-Schindler ZDMG. 38. 90 below.

³ It seems, as if the difference were not fully sustained even throughout the MhD. But in that I might be mistaken.

III. MhD. 2. 1-4.

[On debts—partnership—income].

Three men
 take [conjoint-
 vičir stanēnd āpām xʷāstak 3 mart ly] some mo-
 ney, as a loan;
 they draw up
 hač pas dāt bē āpām 2 kē ān hambašand [a bout it] a
 statement; the
 one, who 2 has
 oēšān ō xʷēših pa xʷāstak ān ān granted the
 loan, bestows
 further the
 money as a
 gift on one
 of the men: 3
 [after that]
 that man is not
 entitled to de-
 mand from the
 partners more
 of the money
 as that which
 is his share.

The text is transmitted correctly in all its essential points.
 It occurs of course that a) and a _ are superfluous. (1st line) contains even two) in excess, most probably the copyist divided it into (hakar)+ (gōwand).

This dāt, stān is the first in the section on "partnership" (hambāyih), MhD. 1. 17 up to 3. 8; see also above

p. 27 note. That alone might have accounted for my supplementing, for the sake of greater elucidation, at the beginning of my translation the word "conjointly". But at the end of the passage the three men are expressly designated as partners (hambāyān). Five lines below (2. 6) there stands: ka 2 mart pa āk, nēn āpām stanēnd, see page 27, note 1. Most probably in l. 1st the word for "conjointly" (p. 4 foll.) has been omitted by a mistake of the copyist.

(For the contents of the dāt, stān see under 3.)

The above-named lawyers thus represent the opinion that the creditor of one of the co-partners is entitled to indemnify himself at the expense of the joint property of the company, as far as the debt contracted exceeds the amount of the share of the debtor in the company, in such a way that each of the partners is responsible for the other partners up to the amount of his own share in the company. Whether that opinion was the generally valid one, seems to be rather doubtful, considering the manner in which it is put forth.

I draw here attention to DkM. 713. 20 (=West 8. 20. 81). That passage also concerns *āpām* "debt" and *hambāyān* "partners". And the passage deals, indeed, with the joint responsibility of the heirs for the debts of the testator. It runs:

אפאר פאטקארישן אפאם אפארן קא עבא חאם האמבאיאן אפארק מיח עסטאן
אפארק מיח עסטאן אפארק מיח עסטאן אפארק מיח עסטאן

apar patkārišn i āpām i pitarān ku ēvak hač hambāyān xʾastūk u apārik mih ēstān; i.e. on the lawsuit for the debts of the parents, when one of the partners recognizes them and the others contest them.—Under partners here are meant the joint heirs; thus also MhD. 59. 14. Unfortunately no decision for the case is given. The translation by West SBE. 37. 65 seems to me to be based on a total miscomprehension of the actual meaning of the text.¹

In other passages containing *āpām stātan* the word *xʾastāk* is omitted. Thus MhD. 2. 6 foll., see p. 27, note I; MhDa. 30. 10 foll., see p. 29, and MhD. 40. 5 ff., wherewith compare my MiranM. 1. 16. Further MhD. 76. 13-17:

אפארק מיח עסטאן אפארק מיח עסטאן אפארק מיח עסטאן
אפארק מיח עסטאן אפארק מיח עסטאן אפארק מיח עסטאן

¹ West translates אפארק "have come"—"and the rest have come"—, but the word cannot be, as elsewhere, *mai* "venit", it must represent the opposite of *xʾastūk* (for it Hübischmann, AGr. 161). I read it, referring to my AirWb. 1181 f., under Pū., *mih*, and basing myself for the rendering of *mih ēstātan* by "to behave decliningly, to deny, to contest" upon Al. *mithyā kartum* in PW. 5. 778 and Böhtlingk, SW. 5. 79a, b.

² The word is here—and twice again in the same *dātstān*, see for it above p. 17 with note—written אפארק, with a superfluous initial א.

15 16 17
 18 19 20
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cussion, treats of the drawing up (*hanbāštan*) of a deed (*vičir*) for a debt, as well as of a mortgage-brief. Mortgage-contracts have to be put in writing, at least such of the same where real estate serves as security; they belong in the Avestan nomenclature (see Bthl., *MiranM.* 2. 5) to the last (the sixth) and highest class of agreements: *čaiti* . . . *miθra* . . . ? . . . *xšvaš* *xštō daitižu, mazō*, i.e. how many agreements (are there)? . . . Six . . . The sixth is concluded for mortgaging real estate; V. 4. 2.

The origin of the MPB. word *āpām*, to which in Persian there corresponds not only آرام *āvām*, but also وام *vām* or فام *fām* (GlrPh. 1b, 79), remains unestablished up to the present; cf. Hübschmann PSt., 19; Horn GlrPh. 1b. 20, 22, 79 and Salemann, GlrPh. 1a. 271, whose interpretation—he correlates the word with the Pers. یافتن *yāftan*, “to obtain”—see, however Bthl. AirWb. 72, note 9—is certainly erroneous. I am of the opinion that two different original forms are underlying it: combinations with the same final link, but with different initial links, and, indeed, praeverbs, namely, the prae-Iran. **ā-īāma-* and **upa-īāma-*, both meaning actually “taking on oneself”, see AP. *āyasatū* in AirWb. 1263, under 3, and Heyne, DWb.² I. 102: “anleihen, leihend an sich nehmen”. For the former there would be expected MP. **āiām*, for the latter (in voluble speech) **apām*, later on *awām*.¹ That is continued in Pers. *vām* (see *MiranM.* I. 41, below), whilst **āiām* became later *āwām* = Pers. *āvām*, through a process of equalisation with the synonymous word. Whether the MPB. word represented by 𐬨𐬀𐬯 was pronounced with a long or a short initial vowel, or, (which might be concluded from the Persian derivated forms) with a vacillating quantity, cannot be decided upon from the graphical shape of the word. The 𐬨𐬀𐬯 *āvām* of the Pazandists is not convincing for the (exclusive) length of the initial vowel; they also write *āwāgī* for 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀 *apākīh*² “assistance” from **upāk*^o, and quite regularly *āwāyistan* for 𐬨𐬀𐬯𐬀𐬯𐬀 *apāyestan*² later *awāyistan*² = Pers. بایستن *bāyistan*; see for it Bthl. WZKM. 29. 12 ff.

¹ On the initial *a* therein see above p. 2, under 3.

² Strictly speaking *op*^o, *aw*^o see the preceding note.

2. *ō ōēšān mart ō mart 1.*

It runs literally: "ad illos homines ad hominem unum", but its actual meaning is: "ex illis hominibus ad (hominem) unum". The same kind of expression is found in MhDA. 3. 2, see p. 51, and quite a similar one—only that the noun occurs but once—MhD. 2. 7: [When two men take up conjointly a debt . . . , cf. p. 25, note 2]

[1] *וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁכַּח הָאִשָּׁה אֶת הָאִישׁ וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁכַּח הָאִישׁ אֶת הָאִשָּׁה*

[u] *ōēšān mart ēvak bahr i xwēš vičārēt*, i.e. literally: "[et] illi [homines] homo unus partem suam solvit", as much as to say: "[and] one of the men pays his share [of the debt]". A little greater is the divergence in the passage MhDA. 4. 3 foll.; see p. 24 ff.¹

3. On the Contents of the *dātēstān* MhD 2. 1 ff.

The *dātēstān* represents the following opinion: As far as a company has taken up a certain capital, the creditor cannot give the capital as a present to one of the partners in such a way that the others should now become his debtors, but only to the company, as a whole, so that each of the partners gets an equal part of it according to the amount of his share in the company², which is, however, supposed to be essentially equal.

That idea of sharing by all the partners in common any increase in the property of the single partner is also often encountered elsewhere, although not always in such a definite way as in the above sentence.

Peculiarly worded is the case decided upon in MhDA. 4. 4 foll. with regard to two men, who are *āk,nēn xwēš* (see p. 30, note 2) i.e. who have some property in common, who share their property with each other. That Solomonian *dātēstān* is ascribed to the lawyer *Rāt Ohrmazd*:

¹ The edition has after that a superfluous 1.—For the manner of expression: *mart 2 āk,nēn xwēš ēvak* . . . *ēvak*, literally: "homines duo quirem communem habent unus . . . unus," in the sense of: "ex hominibus duobus . . . unus", see above p. 46-47.

² *i-š xwat nihāčēt*, "quod ad eum ipsum pertinet". The same turn of phrase also in MhD. 11. 12: *har 3 mart pa bahrak ēi-yōn-šān nihāčēt*, i.e. all the three men to the degree to which they participate; cf. also AI. *nī sacate*.

rišn ō paštākēnišn; 5 *u ka ēvak andar nē apāyēstan gōwēt ōē i dii patirišn ō paštākēnišn u-š 6 nēm 1 bē rasēt*; i.e. when two men conjointly 2 are partners in gains¹ and to one of the men² some money is made a present of and he says: "I do not³ need it"³: there have been [lawyers,] who said:

¹ i.e. have constituted themselves into an industrial company. For the conception *vindišn*, *hamvindišn* see the next paragraph.

² For the construction cf. *supra* p. 50.

³ i.e. he declines the gift which was obviously effected by the mode of expression quoted herein *ōm andar nē apāyēt* or *ōm nē apāyēt*; see MhD. 17. 8 f.:

וְכֵן כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל *
ka ō apurnāyak xwāstak dahand u pīt gōwēt ku-m andar nē apāyēt, i.e. when money is bestowed on a person under age, and the father declares: "I do not need it";—the same mode of expression is found in MhD. 19. 9, where there stands: *ku-mān andar nē apāyēt*;— MhD. 17. 9 foll.:

וְכֵן כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל *

ka šōd. . . 10. žan i xwēš pa vindišn pātōxšāy kunēt u ka-š-aš xwāstak dahand gōwēt ku-m nē apāyēt . . ., i.e. when the husband . . . makes his wife empowered to dispose of the income and [then], when money is bestowed on her, declares: "I do not need it" . . .;— further, MhD. 17. 5-7:

וְכֵן כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל *
 וְכֵן כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל *
 וְכֵן כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל *

וְכֵן כִּי יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אֶת הָאֵל *
ka farroxvō mihryōn gōwēt ku 6 xwāstak i ō xwēš i man rasēt iō xwēš u pas kas ō farroxvō xwāstak 7 dahēt u mihryōn andar nē apāyēstan gōwēt ān xwāstak pa farroxvō bē nē ēstēt, i.e. When *Farroxvō* says to *Mihryōn*: "The money which comes into my property be thy own", and then somebody bestows some money on *Farroxvō*, and *Mihryōn* declares not to need it, then the money does not remain in the possession of *Farroxvō*;—finally MhD. 19. 11, where *andar nē apāyēstan gōwēt* is similarly exemplified. —Thus also here we find formulae modes of expression, "certa verba", which have obviously played a prominent rôle in business relations.

* Ms. *estēt*

** Ms. *ku-man*, which would be *ku man* instead of *ku-m*; see above p. 50, note 1. I do not see any reason for the use of the emphatical form.

† Repeated in the Ms.

†† The Ms. bears *farroxvō* after *ku 6*.

There comes [then] also no part of it to the other. And in one place it is [furthermore] written : 4 It comes a part of it to the other. And it seems to me¹ thus : Both of them ought to have made the acceptance legally recognized ; 5 and if the one declares not to need it, then the other ought to make the acceptance legally recognized, after which 6 the half of it comes over to him.

On 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *vindišn*.

Compare for it especially MhDA. 1-4. 10. Every kind of income is expressed through *vindišn* "gain", before all, however, the pay for work². Thus for instance MhDA. 2. 16 foll.

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ka mart vindišn i anšahrīk bē dahēt u pas anšahrīk āzāt kunēt vindišn i 17 anšahrīk apāč nē āwurišn, i.e. When somebody spends the income of his slave and liberates the slave after that, he has not to refund the income of the slave. The next *dāt, stān* treats about the wife³, MhDA. 2. 17 f. :

¹ In view of the antithesis, the emphatical casus obl. should be required, that is, instead of *u-m āngōn sahēt*, rather *u man āng. s.* Most probably the original manuscript bore 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 — *u man*, with the seldom used regular phonetical spelling 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥, instead of the ideogram 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 ; see for it Unvala, König Husrav (see p. 14, note 7), 38, § 103, note 1. The copyist might in that case have mistaken 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *u man* for 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *u-m* and put for it in the text the ideogram 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥. It happens, however quite seldom that the compiler of the MhD.—*Farroxx mart i Vahrāmān*, see MhD. 80. 14—should express his own opinion. He generally confines himself to the rôle of a mute collector.

² 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 *handōdišn* seems to stand in MhDA. 2. 4 in antithesis to it, i.e. "savings, money saved".

³ Cf. above p. 42, line 24.

3.1 $\text{זאנ בֵּי דַהֶט וּ פַס זאנ האָ זאַנִּיחַ הִלֶּט וּבִינְדִישֵׁן}$
 $\text{וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן}$

ka mart vindišn i žan bē dahēt u pas žan hač žanīh hilēt vindišn i žan apāč āwurišn, i.e. When somebody spends the income of his wife and thereafter dismisses the wife from matrimony, he has to restore the income of the wife. In both cases earnings are concerned. The holder of the family-authority (*sardār i dūtāk* see p. 36) had the right both over the earnings (*vindišn*) of the slave (his peculium), and of the wife, yet with the difference that at the dismissal of the wife from under his authority, contrary to the case of the slave, the former was entitled to the restoration of her earnings spent by the husband.

It sometimes did occur that the detainer of the right of disposal over the *vindišn*—of whatever kind it be—did forego his right transferring the same on a slave or a wife, making them *pa vindišn pāt.xšāy*, "entitled to dispose over the *vindišn*". The matter is treated in MhD. 17.10 ff.; MhDA. 1. 7, 2. 1, 3. 6 ff. Unfortunately the text in most of the passages where the matter is discussed is mutilated to such an extent—partly also destroyed by insects—that I am not in a position to give any sure translation of the same.

The MhDA. 3. 6 f. runs:

$\text{זאנ בֵּי דַהֶט וּ פַס זאנ האָ זאַנִּיחַ הִלֶּט וּבִינְדִישֵׁן}$
 $\text{וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן}$
 $\text{וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן וּבִינְדִישֵׁן}$

pa-č čāštāk guft ēstēt ku anšahrīk i nēm farrox^o u apārīk mihryōn
 $\text{7 } x^{o}ēš \text{ ka-š farrox}^{o} \text{ pa vindišn pāt.xšāy kunēt u-š kas } x^{o}āstak$

¹ I suppose such to be the reading of the manuscript. The copyist or the editor who wrote first $\text{זאנ בֵּי דַהֶט וּ פַס זאנ האָ זאַנִּיחַ הִלֶּט}$ —as stands before—but struck it out afterwards, has obviously made a slip of the pen.

² Wanting.

³ The letters between זאנ and וּבִינְדִישֵׁן are destroyed by insects.

⁴ The end, partly mutilated, is incomprehensible for me.

dahēt . . . i.e. And it is transmitted as a teaching¹: the slave who belongs half to *Farrox*², the rest to *Mihryōn*,—² if *Farrox*² makes him entitled to dispose over his earnings and somebody bestows on him some money, . . . The end of the rather extensive *dāt, stān* is incomprehensible for me.

MhDa. 3. 12 foll. runs :

13 *u būt kē guft ku ka-š pa vindišn pāt, xšāy* 13 *kunēt x'āstak*
[i] pa anšahrīk bē ēstēt andar ō x'atāy nē barišn, i.e. And there
were [lawyers] who have said : When he makes him³ entitled
to the disposal over his earnings, then the money which is in
the possession of⁴ the slave has not to be delivered to the
master.

Further MhDa. 3. 13—17 :

¹ I have my doubts with regard to the correctness of the wording given. After *čāštak* "teaching" one would expect the name of some lawyer; cf. Šnš. 1. 3 in SBE. 5. 243.

² For the case of two or more masters sharing in the possession of one slave there is another peculiar example in MhD. 1. 6 f. :

mart 1 ka-š anšahrīk i pa 10 bahr 1 bahr āzāt bē kart frazand-eč i 7 hač ān
anšahrīk zāyēt har ēvak pa 10 bahr 1 bahr āzāt, i.e. When a man
*has liberated the slave one tenth * of whom is his own, then the chil-*
*dren born of that slave are each one free to the extent of one tenth *.*
[How such a one-tenth freedom was treated within practical life, is not
quite clear to me. Cf. also MhDa. 2. 1].

³ The slave.

⁴ In possession of . . . ; see for the expression MhDa. 3. 9 foll.; MhD. 17. 7 (above p. 52, note 3).

* For the expression compare the passage in MhD. 54. 3 :

1 14 15 16 17
 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100
 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200
 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300
 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400
 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500
 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600
 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700
 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800
 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900
 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990
 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000

u apāk-ē an kas¹ 14 ētōn guft × × ×² ku ka žan pa vindišn
 pāt, xšāy kunēt u-š 15 pas at × × × ākih⁴ gōwēt ētōn pa xūptar
 dārom ka xwāstak apāč ō šōd 16 rasēt u vahrām guft ku man-ē
 hamgōn dānom čē ka-š at × × × ākih apar 17 stanēt har nīrmat
 i-š hač šōd apāč ō šōd rasēt, i.e. And again has it also been said
 by another [author]: 14 When he makes the wife entitled
 to dispose of her property and 15 afterwards charges her
 with insubordination, I think that it is better that the money
 16 should be returned to the husband. And Vahrām has said :

1 The edition bears 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, but with 𐭠 before the 𐭠 crossed out. The
 above correction seems to me the most appropriate. Or does it conceal
 the mutilated name of some lawyer whose opinion is shared by Vahrām ?

2 In the edition there stands 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥, which I do not
 understand.

3 Wanting in the edition. "To consider as—" is *dāstān pa*.

4 See above p. 31, note 3.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥
 ka gōwēt ku ēn xwāstak 3 bahr ē bahr mīhryōn xwēš ē bavēt. . . , i.e. when
 he says: " This object shall become to the extent of one third the
 property of Mīhryōn, . . . ", as well as the *dāstān* MhDA. 33. 15
 which is remarkable also in other respects, though mutilated by several
 omissions (see below) ; I read :

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

I also am of the same opinion¹; for, if he convicts² her of insubordination, 17 then all the profits which [have been allotted] to her by the husband, return to the husband.

Instead of *vindišn*, *kār vindišn* is also encountered by which the idea of "pay for work" is expressed even more distinctly; MhDA. 2. 14 foll.

וּכְּפִי וּדְמִיָּה טַעַם כְּאִם וְעַל וּדְמִיָּה [ד] וְאִשְׁתִּי
 אִשְׁתִּי 15 וְאִם וְכִי טַעַם טַעַם וְעַל וּדְמִיָּה
 כִּי טַעַם טַעַם וְעַל וּדְמִיָּה וְאִם לֵב זָלָה וְעַל.

u ka žan andar žanīh kār vindišn i xʷat xʷēš 15 bē ō šōd dahēt u pas žan hač žanīh hīlīhēt kār vindišn bē nē barišn, i.e. And when the wife in the state of matrimony hands over to the husband her own earnings, and [when] afterwards the wife is dismissed from matrimony, she is not allowed to take with her [her] earnings.

For the conception of *hamvindišnīh* "industrial partnership" we have before all to point out the passage already taken into consideration on p. 30, note 1 of the MhDA. I. 2—6;

כְּפִי טַעַם וְאִם לֵב זָלָה וְעַל וּדְמִיָּה
 כִּי וְאִשְׁתִּי טַעַם וְאִם טַעַם לֵב זָלָה וְעַל וּדְמִיָּה
 טַעַם וְאִם 4 וְאִם טַעַם וְאִם טַעַם לֵב זָלָה וְעַל וּדְמִיָּה וְאִם

u an-ē guft ku +ka+pa vičīr 1+pa 3 bahr ē bahr ō mīhryōn u apārīk ō farroẖv dahand mātakwar farroẖv dārišn u+ō mīhryōn hampačēn +1 dahišn i.e. And another [sentence] runs: When a third part is bestowed with a declaration on *Mīhryōn* and the remainder on *Farroẖv*, then *Farroẖv* must have the original deed and to *Mīhryōn* a copy of it should be given. [Under declaration a will is meant the original document going to the main heir, while the secondary heir has to be supplied with a copy.—

The words marked by + are intercalated by me. Instead of טַעַם the edition bears טַעַם.]

¹ Literally: I also know thus.

² Otherwise the verb *apar stātan* has not been encountered by me. The meaning, however, "to convict of" or else "to catch in the act of —(deprehendere)" hardly awakens any doubts.

וּבְיָמֵינוּ כִּי הָיָה מִלְכָּה וְהָיָה מִלְכָּה 5 וְכִי
 הָיָה מִלְכָּה וְהָיָה מִלְכָּה 6 וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה
 וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה 1 וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה 2

*ka mart 1 3 apāk žan 2 i pāt, xšāyihāk i xwēš patmān kart ku-m
 tō u tō hamvindišn kart hēt 4 žan yut yut apāk šōd hamvindišn
 u žanān ēvak hač dīt yut vindišn hand 5 u ān hamvindišnīh
 žan vartēnītan nē u šōd pāt, xšāy³ u ka vartēnēt vindišn dāt, stān
 āngōn 6 čiyōn pēš būt, i.e. When a man 3 has made an
 agreement with his two main wives: "Thou and thou be made
 my industrial partners", 4 then (each) wife separately has
 in common the profits with the husband, and the wives amongst
 themselves have separated profits; and the wife is not entitled
 to dissolve that industrial partnership, but the husband is;
 and when he dissolves the same, the right for profit is the same
 6 as it was before. See for it the following passage.*

Furthermore MhDA. I. 12 foll. may be quoted which treats
 of the right of dissolving the *hamvindišnīh*, which exists
 between qualified persons, i.e. men (see above p. 4):

וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה 7 וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה 8 וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה 9
 וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה 10 וְכִי הָיָה מִלְכָּה 11

*ka mart 2 hamvindišn bavand hamē ka ēvak kāmēt yut vindišn
 bavand, i.e. When 2 men become hamvindišn ("having profits
 in common"), they can at any time, when one [of the two]
 wishes it, [again] become yutvindišn ("having separated
 profits"). Thus a man is always entitled to a notice with
 regard to an industrial partnership, but a woman is not (see the
 passage just dealt with), because she is by herself not legally
 capable.*

Into the domain of the above discussed (p. 50) opinions re
 garding the legal workings of a partnership-agreement do also

¹ The edition 1110°.

² The end of the word is destroyed.

³ *pāt, xšāy* at the end of the sentence, see above p. 33, note 2. Here the place of the word in the sentence is somewhat strange.

belong the decisions directly opposite to each other in Mh.DA. 77. 13—16. The compiler of the Mh.D. has placed alongside these two decisions owing to the similarity of the cases discussed. without pointing out the contradictoriness of the decisions by adding, as elsewhere, the words *būt kē guft* "there have been [lawyers] who said" (see p. 10). It runs:

[illegible]

ka gōwēt 14 ku ēn x^āstak tāk man u tō žīndak hēm āk_onēn dārēm ka ēvak mīrēt ōē i dīt 15 nē dārīšn.—u ka gōwēt ku¹ ēn x^āstak¹ man u tō tāk žīndak hēm āk_onēn dārēm ka ēvak mīrēt 16 adak-č ōē i dīt tāk¹ žīndak dāštan dast_owarīhāk, i.e. When he says : 14 This money shall be as long as I and thou live our conjoint property ”: when one [of the two] dies, the other is 15 not entitled to keep it.—And when he says : “ This money shall I and thou, as long as we live, possess conjointly ”; when one [of the two] 16 dies, the other is entitled to keep it as long as he lives.

¹ Supplemented by me, see the preceding sentence.

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58. 3	..	33 note
4 foll.	..	8 foll.
59. 13	..	29 note
14	..	47
60. 3, 5	..	46 note
70. 10	..	24
71. 8	..	6
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72.	3	25 note
	3 foll.	9
	10	35
	10 foll.	7
73.	15-17	23
	17	7 note
74.	2	23
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76.	13-17	47
80.	14	53 note
85.	7 foll.	30 note
	11 foll.	33 note
	15 foll.	33 note
89.	11 foll.	45
95.	12, 15	35
96.	3, 8, 10 foll., 12,	35
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99.	3, 17	35
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101.	1	35
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102.	3, 15	35
	9, 12, 13, 15	35
103.	7, 12	35
104.	1-4	24
	8	11
106.	17	35
107.	4, 7	11
110.	13 foll.	35
MhDA.	1. 2	41
	3	30 note
	5	33 note
	7	54
	8	46 note
	12	58
	16	5
	1-4. 10	53
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	17 foll.	53 foll.
3.	1-6	51
	2	50
	6 foll.	54
	9 foll.	55 note
	12 foll.	55
	13 foll.	35 note
	13-17	55 foll.
	15-17	..	..	32 note
4.	3 foll.	..	..	50
	4	..	..	30 note
	4 foll.	..	..	50
	12-8. 2	..	..	32 note

MhDA.

5.	6 foll.	..	..	31 note
	15-6. 1	..	..	31 foll.
	16	..	..	31
6.	1	..	..	25 note,
		..	..	31 note
	2	..	..	31
	4	..	..	31 note
	14 foll.	..	..	29, 30
7.	6	..	..	5, 23
	9 foll.	..	..	43 note
10.	13-11. 8	..	..	12 foll.
	15 foll.	..	..	18
	15-17	..	..	6
11.	3 foll.	..	..	18
	4 foll.	..	..	9 note
	4, 5, 8	..	..	6
	8 foll.	..	..	15 foll.
	12. 17	..	..	6
	13. 17	..	..	7 note
	14. 12	..	..	14 note
	18. 11	..	..	6, 23
	23. 15	..	..	15 note
	24. 14	..	..	15 note,
		..	..	24
	25. 7	..	..	14 note
	30. 10-12	..	..	29, 47
	33. 3	..	..	56 note
	15	..	..	5, 6
	40. 16	..	..	21
	16-17	..	..	21
Mx.	49. 24 foll.	..	..	29
PahlT.	32. § 62	..	..	17
	58. 13	..	..	7 note
	116. 11	..	..	19
PN.	6. 6	..	..	22 note
	25. 20	..	..	41
	170. 18	..	..	7 note
(Tahm.)	20. 10 foll.	..	..	33 note
PV.	2. 2	..	..	28
	19. 7	..	..	7 note
PVr.	1. 9	..	..	22 note
	9. 3	..	..	13 note
PY.	1. 3	..	..	28 note
	9. 10	..	..	28 note
	57. 28	22 note
PYt.	6. 5	28 note
Šnš.	1. 3	47 note
Aog.	94	28 note
PF.	2 f.	36
	3 g	38
	27 b	22 note

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Y. 9. 4 28

III. PERSIAN.

Šn. 1524. 485 16 note
1541. 792 16 note

B. WORDS.

I. PAHLAVI IN TRANSCRIPTION.

[Note.—The words in transcription are arranged according to the Avestan alphabet, as in the Air Wb., those in original script according to the order followed in the FrP. (Junker)].

<i>ātuvānikih</i> ..	.. 6, 10
<i>apāk</i> "again" ..	.. 7, 34, 38
<i>apāk—apāč</i> ..	.. 35 note
<i>apākih</i> ..	.. 49
<i>apām v. āpām</i> ..	..
[<i>andar</i>] <i>nē apāyēt</i> ..	.. 52 note
<i>apāyestan</i> ..	.. 49
<i>apēspārīšn</i> ..	.. 8
<i>awikānik</i> ..	.. 16
[<i>pa</i>] <i>avīnāših</i> ..	.. 6
<i>ahravdāt</i> ..	.. 41
[<i>pa</i>] <i>ākonēn</i> 4 foll., ..	.. 44
<i>ākonēn xvēš</i> ..	.. 30 note, 50
<i>āpām</i> ..	.. 26, 45 foll.
„ <i>stātan</i> ..	.. 45 foll.
<i>ān</i> (restrictive) ..	.. 28 note
<i>āmār</i> , <i>ēmār</i> ..	.. 22 note
<i>katak bānūh</i> ..	.. 35
„ <i>xvātāy</i> ..	.. 35
<i>katas</i> ..	.. 33 note
<i>kanik</i> ..	.. 38 note
<i>kār vindišn</i> ..	.. 57
<i>gōw</i> , <i>gōwišn</i> ..	.. 23
<i>čakar</i> ..	.. 36
<i>tarsāk</i> ..	.. 31
<i>tāvān</i> ..	.. 6
<i>daštōwārīh</i> ..	.. 29
<i>dāt pašt xvāš</i> ..	.. 12 foll.
<i>dātīhāh</i> ..	.. 42
<i>dātōstān</i> ..	.. 3
<i>dūtāk sardār</i> ..	.. 36
<i>dūšarmīhāh</i> ..	.. 41
<i>drust dāstan</i> ..	.. 24 foll., 28 foll.
<i>patmān</i> ..	.. 6, 12

<i>pasēmār</i> , <i>pasmār</i> ..	.. 22 note
<i>pašt</i> ..	.. 5 foll.
<i>pašt kartan apāk</i> ..	.. 5
<i>pašt dāt xvās</i> ..	.. 12 foll.
<i>pātoxsāy</i> .. 3 note, 36, 56, 58 note	
[<i>nē</i>] <i>patoxsāy bē ka</i> ..	.. 33 note
<i>pēsēmār</i> , <i>pēmār</i> ..	.. 22 note
<i>būt kē [āngōn] guft</i> ..	.. 10, 59
<i>frāk—frāč</i> ..	.. 35 note
<i>nikirāy</i> ..	.. 11
<i>nikirūtan</i> ..	.. 11
<i>nipišt</i> ..	.. 5
<i>niruzd-ih</i> ..	.. 41
<i>nihāčēt</i> ..	.. 50 note
<i>mart</i> (juridical) ..	.. 4
<i>mātakwar</i> ..	.. 57 note
<i>mār</i> ..	.. 22 note
<i>mārik</i> ..	.. 22 note
<i>mārihāh</i> ..	.. 25 note
<i>mērak</i> ..	.. 43
<i>mih ēstātan</i> ..	.. 47 note
<i>pa ē yāvar</i> .. 4, 29 note	
<i>vaxš</i> ..	.. 6, 25 note
<i>vičīr kartan andar</i> ..	.. 45 note
<i>vindišn</i> .. 15 note, 41, 53 foll.	
<i>rāyēnītan</i> ..	.. 29 note
<i>rixt</i> ..	.. 14 note
<i>sardār-ih</i> ..	.. 42
<i>sardār i dūtāk</i> ..	.. 36, 54
<i>stānēt : stātan</i> ..	.. 45 note
[<i>apar</i>] <i>stātan</i> ..	.. 57 note
<i>stūrīh</i> 21
<i>sritīh</i> 28 note
<i>šapestān</i> 37
<i>šōd</i> 43
<i>zyānak</i> 43
<i>žan</i> 43
<i>žan i čakarīhāh</i> 35
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<i>hakar ka</i> 9 note
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31, 44, 46 note, 47	
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„ <i>grīftan</i> 31
<i>hambāstan</i> 49
<i>hambindišn-ih</i> .. 41, 57 foll.	
<i>xvarišn u dārišn</i> 43 note
„ <i>vastrak</i> 43 note
<i>xvāstak</i> .. 4, 42, 45 note	
„ <i>mārihāh</i> ..	.. 25
„ <i>sardārīh</i> ..	.. 27 note
<i>10 bahr 1 bahr</i> ..	.. 55 note
<i>100 gōših</i> ..	.. 28 note

II. PAHLAVI IN ORIGINAL SCRIPT.

𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 — 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	.. 41	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>ākonēn</i> 4
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 = <i>zānbūt</i> (p. n.)	14 note	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>ākonēn xwēš</i> .. 30 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>nihāčēt</i>	50 note	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>hambāstan</i> .. 31
𐭥𐭥 = <i>ōē, hand</i>	13 note	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>at</i> × × × <i>āk</i> .. 31 note
𐭥𐭥 = <i>an-ē</i>	34	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>at</i> × × × <i>ākīh</i> 31 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥 = <i>u pašt</i>	5	𐭥𐭥 <i>hač</i> 5 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥 (i.e. 𐭥𐭥𐭥) inst. of		𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>apāyēstan</i> .. 49
𐭥𐭥 "well" .. 12		𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>apārōn</i> 38
𐭥𐭥𐭥 24		𐭥𐭥 <i>āpām</i> 45
𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>patoxšāy</i> .. 3 note		𐭥𐭥 <i>ā-ō, ā-ōe</i> .. 7 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>šapēstān</i> .. 37		𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>hamxwāstak</i> .. 30 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥 "indemnity" .. 6		𐭥𐭥 <i>āmār</i> 22 note
𐭥𐭥 <i>ōš</i> 5 note		𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>hamēvēn</i> 29
𐭥𐭥 <i>xwāš</i> 18		𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>hambāy</i> 4
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>xwāšxwāš</i> .. 19		𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>hambāyīh</i> 4, 30 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥 inst. of 𐭥𐭥𐭥 .. 17		𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>hamp</i> × × .. 30 note
𐭥𐭥 <i>az</i> 2 note		𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>bēhēstān</i> p.n. .. 15 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥 36		𐭥𐭥 — 𐭥𐭥 .. 46 note, 51 note
𐭥𐭥𐭥 38		𐭥𐭥 <i>man</i> 2 note
𐭥𐭥 <i>ast i</i>		𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>apāk</i> 7, 34, 38
𐭥𐭥 .. <i>kē</i>	13 note	𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>rixt</i> 14 note
𐭥𐭥 .. <i>ōē</i>		𐭥𐭥 <i>to</i> 2 note
𐭥𐭥 "partly" .. 25 note		𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>tō-ō</i> 7 note
𐭥𐭥 "ast ka" it happens that" .. 25 note		𐭥𐭥𐭥 <i>tō-ō</i> 7 note

ژانبūt *žanbūt* p. n. .. 15 note
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 زېږېښت *zyānak* 43
 زېږېښت inst. of زېږېښت *xwəš* .. 20

کات *katas* 33 note

کات *katas* 40

کات *katas* 40

مېرک *mērak* 43

مېرک *mih* 47 note

مېرک inst. of مېرک *ōe* .. 7 note

مېرک *mihryōn* p. n. .. 8 note

دیت *dit* 51 note

تېوان *tāvān* 6

تېوان *t* × × × *āk* .. 31 note

تېوان *tarsāk* 31 note

تېوان inst. of تېوان .. 6

تېوان — تېوان *pīhan* .. 39

تېوان — تېوان — تېوان —

تېوان *p* × × × 30, 30 note

پېشمار *pēšēmār* .. 22

پېشمار *pasēmār* .. 22

پاست *pašt* 5

پاتوآشاک *pātōxšāk* .. 3 note

پاتوآشاک *pātōxšāy* .. 3 note

فرپېښت *frapīh* 39

فرپېښت — فرپېښت — فرپېښت .. 7 note

فرپېښت 7 note

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Farroṣ Zuvān 46

Vahrām 3, 15, 56

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Syāvaš 16, 33

Žamāsp 28

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"GNYN, 'GNYN .. 4

az "I" 2 note

"from" 5 note

DRUST, DRYŠT, DRYST 24

ZYV° *zivo* "to live" .. 20

HS'GYRD *hašāgerd* .. 38

XV'BŠ *xvēbaš* 40

man 2 note

P'DXŠY *pādōxšāy* .. 3 note

PVHR *puhr* PVS *pus* .. 40

tō 2 note

V MIDDLE-SOGHDIAN.

**xwāšānt-* 18 note

XYPΘ *xēpad* 40

PČ' YYSTP *pačōyīstar* .. 3 note

VI. AVESTAN.

aošō 5 note

× *apno xavō* × 37

**afn'quhā* 37

arəθna 38

asma 40

ahmī 40

kaimī [ēa 38 note

čarūtī — 36 note

°čit 7 note

darəhru. *mazō-* 49

drva — 24 note

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<i>opiθwa</i>	39
<i>puθrō</i>	40
<i>frapiθwa</i>	39
<i>frašnəm</i>	40
<i>niuruzda</i>	41
<i>nmānō. paθnī</i>	37
<i>sāsnū</i>	40
<i>srāyavan</i>	36 note
<i>hača</i>	5 note
* <i>hapaθnī-</i>	37
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<i>xšāyapaθiya-</i>	3 note
<i>°ōvy</i>	7 note

VIII. PERSIAN.

آران	<i>āran</i>	38
آمار	<i>āmār</i>	22 note
آوام	<i>āvām</i>	49
از	<i>az</i>	..	..	5 note
بهر	<i>baħr</i>	..	..	46 note
بایستان	<i>bāyistan</i>	..	..	49
پادشاه	<i>pādišāh</i>	..	..	3 note
پادشاه زن	<i>pādišāh zan</i>	..	..	35 note
تا	<i>tā, تاکم tāki</i>	..	..	9 note
تاوان	<i>tāvān</i>	..	..	6
تارسا	<i>tarsū</i>	..	..	31 note
جهی	<i>jihī</i>	..	..	21
چون	<i>čūn چونکم čūnki</i>	..	..	9 note
خوش	<i>xuš</i>	..	..	21
خوشا	<i>xušā</i>	..	..	21
درست	<i>durust</i>	..	..	24 note
زهی	<i>zihī</i>	..	..	20
زیان	<i>ziyān</i>	..	..	20
شاگرد	<i>šāgird</i>	38

شاه زن	<i>šāh zan</i>	35 note
فام	v. وام	
کزی	<i>kanī</i>	33 note
مار	<i>mār</i>	22 note
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وام [فام]	<i>vām</i>	49
وسنی	<i>vasnī</i>	37, 38
هوش	<i>hōš</i>	5 note
یافتن	<i>yāftan</i>	49

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[As transcribed by HOUTUM-SCHINDLER, JUSTI and MANN].

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mēr, mērā	43
māreh	43
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هوی	hevi	..	37 note
هفوی	hewou	..	37 note
هفی	hewi	..	37 note

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°advaṇ-, °advara-	39 note
āpnasvant	37
āsmā	40
āsti	40
āsti "it happens"	25 note
dhruvā-	24 note
nāva-, nāviṣṭha-	24 note
praśnām	40
mīthyā kartum	47 note
rikthā	14 note
śāsti	40
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OBITUARIES.

The Institute regrets the loss of its two esteemed members, Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., and Mr. S. K. Hodivala, B.A., for whom the Executive Committee has, at its sittings of 26th March 1931 and 30th June 1931 respectively, passed the following resolutions :—

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute express their deep sense of grief at the sad demise of their colleague, Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D., which took place at Feldkirch (Austria) on 8th February 1931 at the age of 56 years. Fr. Zimmermann was invited to join the Executive Committee from 1st August 1925, and, since then, he evinced great interest in the work of the Institute, which culminated in a series of Government Fellowship Lectures, he delivered in the year 1929, as the Government scholar of this Institute. The Executive Committee put on record their appreciation of his deep scholarship in the field of Oriental studies in general and specially in Sanskrit. Fr. Zimmermann's genial disposition and unostentatious fervour for the advancement of Oriental lore won for him a deep esteem in the hearts of his colleagues and pupils alike, and his passing away will be long felt as a great loss in the sphere of Oriental scholarship.”

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute record their deep sense of sorrow at the untimely death of their Joint Honorary Secretary, Mr. Shapurji Kavaji Hodivala, B.A., who died on 13th June 1931 at the age of 61 years. Mr. Hodivala was invited to join the Executive Committee on the 17th January 1922 and, since then, he took an active interest in the well-being of the Institute. As Government Research scholar for the year 1923, he had delivered a series of six learned lectures on the Indo-Iranian Religion, which were greatly appreciated by Sanskrit and Avestan scholars alike. He was appointed a Joint Honorary Secretary of the Institute in April 1930. The Executive Committee place on record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered by the deceased to the cause of Sanskrit and Avestan Scholarship in general and to this Institute in particular, and express their regret that his premature death has caused the heavy loss of an unostentatious and industrious scholar of great calibre.”

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A FEW NOTES ON AN OLD MANUSCRIPT OF THE PERSIAN VĪRĀF-NĀMEH, RECENTLY PRESENTED TO THE CAMA INSTITUTE.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

An anonymous friend of the K. R. Cama Oriental
Introduction. Institute has kindly presented recently
to the Institute a precious manuscript
of the Persian Ardāi Virāf-nāmeḥ in verse. I had the
pleasure of exhibiting this manuscript at a gathering on
the occasion of the Centenary¹ of the Bombay Branch,
Royal Asiatic Society, when I read before it, on 17th
January 1905, my paper, entitled "A Glimpse into the
Work of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view."
At that time, it was kindly lent to me for being exhibited
by its then owner Mr. Rustamji Dosabhoy Sethna
(Macfarlane).² Since then, it has changed hands. The
best thanks of the Institute are due to the anonymous
donor who has now kindly presented it. He is said to have
purchased it for Rs. 300. I propose giving here a few
notes on the early part of this precious manuscript.

The manuscript bears the following colophon at the
end, on folio marked 58 in Gujarati:—

فرچید بدروود شادی او رامشني اندر روز آسمان ماه
خورداد سال بر نهصد نود و هفت از شاهنشاه یزدگر شهریار از

1 The Society was founded in November 1804.

2 Born, 29th December 1831 : died, 27th October 1906.

نَحْمَةُ سَاسَانِ خَجَسْتِه شَهْرِ اِيْرَانِ زَمِيْنِ : كَاتِبِ الْحُرُوْفِ مِنْ بَنْدِه
 دِيْنِ بِهْ مَازْدِيْسَنَانِ فَقِيْرِ الْحَقِيْرِ هِيْرِبْدِ زَادِهْ هِيْرِبْدِ بَرَزُوْ بِنِ
 قَوَامِ الدِّيْنِ بِنِ كِيْقْبَادِ بِنِ هَرْمَزِيَارِ لَقْبِ سَنَجَانَانِ اِيْنِ كِتَابِ
 اَرْدَايِ وَيْرَافِ نُوْسْتَمِ دَرِ قَصْبِهْ نُوْسَارِيْ دَاخِلِ بِلَادِ گِجْرَاتِ هَرِ كِهْ
 اِيْنِ كِتَابِ خَوَانَادِ بَا آمُوْزَادِ بَرِ نُوِيْسَنْدِهْ آفَرِيْنِ كَنْدَادِ تَمِ

بیت

غریقِ رحمتِ یزدانِ کسی باد
 که کاتبِ را با^۲ الحمد می کند یاد
 نبشته من ندانم تا که خواند منم بیشک بمیرم این بماند
 نبشته سالها ماند ز کاتب نشان کر خاک جوی زونیابی
 خدایا در لطف و رحمت کشای
 ببرزو ره نیکنامی نمای

We see from this colophon that the manuscript was written on *roz Asmān mād̄h Khordād*, 997 Yazdezardi (1628 A.C.). So, it is more than three hundred years old. The scribe is Burzo Kamdin, the well-known compiler of the *Rivāyat*, known, by his name, as Burzo Kamdin's *Rivāyat*. It was written in Naosari.

The manuscript is precious for several reasons:—

- (1) It is a beautiful manuscript written with a very clear hand. It is in size $8 \frac{7}{10}'' \times 5''$. It has 17 couplets to a page.

1 Ghariq = drowned. cf. Gujarati ગરજ.

2 With (a prayer saying) al-hamd, i.e., 'Praise be to God.'

(2) It is an old manuscript written more than 300 years ago.

(3) It was written by the well-known scribe Burzo Kamdin, whose Rivâyats,—a Collective Rivâyat and a Classified Rivâyat—are known to us.¹

(4) Its value is enhanced by 57 beautiful illustrations, illustrating the rewards and punishments in Heaven and Hell. The illustrations are described in brief in red ink crosswise on the margins. The paper of that part of the pages which contains the illustrations has begun to crack and so here and there the paintings have lost some parts.

We note one peculiarity in this beautiful copy. When the scribe wanted to reject a couplet as itself faulty, or faultily written, he simply placed two small marks like these || over the couplet. For example:—

Couplet 7 folio 1a.

„ 6 „ 4a.

Some of the paintings draw our special attention. Burzo Kamdin, the scribe, seems to have left it to a Mahomedan or Hindu artist of the time, as to how to design and paint the illustrations. Probably this was left to a Mahomedan artist. This appears from the very first painting.

The very first painting, which draws our attention for the above reason, is described in red ink in the margin as

یت کردن اردای ویراف بدرگاه آتش و هرام اباشش دستور دیگر

i.e., The Recital of the Patet² (Repentance prayer) by Ar dai Viraf with six other priests in the Court (dar-gâh)

1 *I* vide my Introduction to the Edition of the Rivâyat of Darâb Hormazyâr by the late Errad Manockji R. Unwalla.

2 Av. رتبه و رتبه and رتبه و رتبه.

of Atash Varharām (Atash Behram). This painting presents several features for consideration :—

- (a) The building, with three domes at the top, is not at all like our modern Indian Fire-temple.
- (b) The Fire-vase is not at all like the Fire-vases of our Fire-temple.
- (c) The trousers and dress are more like those of the Mahomedans than those of the Parsees.

There is no uniformity of dress among the seven priests, who say their *patet* before the sacred fire, like that which one may expect from what he sees in a Bombay gathering of priests, who are all uniformly dressed in white Jama-pichodi,¹ i.e., a kind of loose dress with a girdle or band round the waist. It is only one priest standing before the Fire, who is dressed in white.² Perhaps the artist may be a Mahomedan, fresh arrived from Persia, and he had before his eyes the picture of a Parsi priest in Persia. The ends of the *pichodi* also are left hanging in the painting and not put into the fold as seen here.

1 Jāmā is Pers. جامه = robe, gown. Pichodi पिछोडी (girdle) may be from Pers. پیچیدن = to twist (round), or from Gujarati [પણ] = to hang upon.

2 Probably, the artist may have been a Mahomedan from Persia. I had the pleasure of attending, in Persia, more than one gathering, where Zoroastrian priests assembled for prayers. They all were dressed variously. The colour of their gowns and their head-dresses differed. When I inquired of the priest, who attended upon the fire of the new Fire-temple at Tehran, why he did not put on white gown and dress, he said that that was not considered proper in a Mahomedan country like Persia where he had to move among Mahomedans. However, he was corrected by Arbab Kaikhusru, who had kindly accompanied me, saying, that those times were gone, and that now, in the time of H. E. Riza Khan (he had not become the Shah as yet in November 1925), they had the liberty of putting on any dress they liked.

In modern practice, when priests assemble round a fire to say their Atash Nyāish, one of them, the Atar-vakhshi, who stands before the Fire-vase, touches the vase with a *chamach*,¹ i.e., ladle, at the time of reciting particular portions of the Nyāish. This indicates a kind of spiritual association with the sacred fire. The priests, who stand immediately next to him create a contact with him, either by touching his body with their hands, or by holding the skirt of his *Jamā* (جامه = the upper loose garb). Then, those, who are next to them, do the same. Thus, the members of the whole congregation come into physical contact with one another, and, through this contact, with the sacred fire. We see this custom of the ritual illustrated in this first painting, wherein a part of the skirt of the upper dress of the priest who stands immediately before the first is connected with a part of the dress of another priest standing behind him.

The second painting. The seven sisters of Viraf.

The second painting is thus noted in the margin :—

آمدن هفت خواهر اردای ویراف بدرگاه پادشاه اردشیر زاری کنان
و گریان از بهر اردای ویراف

i.e., The coming of the seven sisters of Ar dai Viraf to the Court of King Ardeshir, crying and weeping for Ar dai Viraf.

Their features point them to be more Mogul girls than Persian girls.

There is one thing particular in the above heading and even in the text. The seven women are all along spoken of as sisters (خواهر), and not as wives also, as implied from the use of the word *nishman* (نیشمن) in the

¹ Pers. چمچه *chamcheh*, a spoon, a ladle.

Pahlavi Virāf-nāmeḥ. This omission tends to show, that in the original Pahlavi also, the word *nishman* was not meant in the literal sense and signification of the word 'wife'. What seems to be meant in the Virāf-nāmeḥ was, that the seven sisters looked to him, both as brother and husband, for maintenance, support and relationship. We know that there was an old custom among some ancient nations, that, for the security of the throne, and to avoid any differences and jealousies, the male successors to the throne were married nominally to the sisters, and the female successors to their brothers. For example, we find this custom in Egypt. Cleopatra, the queen of Egypt, married her brother, a young child. It was with this view of security, that conquerors often married the daughters of the kings whom they conquered, *e.g.*, Alexander married Roxana, the daughter of Darius.

The third painting presents the picture of a cup of wine that is being presented to Ardaī Viraf. The Pahlavi text speaks of the drink as *𐭮𐭥 mang* which is Persian *منگ* "rhubarb, the henbane plant"¹ which is known among us as "रेवयिनी; रेवयाम".²

Dr. Haug thus explains the word: "A narcotic, henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*) 'the seed of which, imported from Cabul, or Persia, is sold in Bombay as *Khorasani*' *Ywani* (see Dalzell and Gilson's Supplement to the Bombay Flora, 1861, page 62), Pers. *بدمنک*".³ Haug, while quoting Dastur Hoshung Jamasp, thus refers to this matter in the Introduction:—"After all preparations for the great journey, had been made by washing his hands, putting on new clothes, etc., Viraf drank three cups filled with a narcotic called *mang* (*banga* in Zend), and fell asleep on the carpet on which he

1 Steingass's Persian Dictionary.

2 Motiram's English-Gujarati Dictionary.

3 Glossary of Ardaī Viraf, page 220.

was sitting. Dastur Hoshangji makes the following remarks on this drought: 'The administrators of these doses of *mang* mixed up with wine, causing a supernatural sleep of seven days' duration, reminds one of the custom of *Dhatturas*, or stramonium eating in India, which is well known in this country, particularly in Gujarat. It is believed then that when on week-day, particularly on Saturday which is sacred to Hanuman, a few seeds of *Dhattura* are given to a child about seven years of age (it being then considered innocent), he or also she will, if asked, prophesy all future events through its effect and will even prescribe remedies for any difficulty".¹ Haug then quotes Hoshangji, who refers to a miracle of Zoroaster giving consecrated wine to King Gustasp, whereby Gustasp fell asleep for three days and saw the vision of his own paradise.² This matter of giving the *mang* for drink to Ar dai Viraf is referred to four times in the *Virāf-nāmeḥ* (Chapter I, 38; II, 93, 29 and 31). In the passage of the first reference, it is spoken of alone and Viraf speaks of it as "undesirable *mang*" (akameh-humand mang). In the other three references, the administering of the *mang* is spoken of as accompanied with *ās* (آس). This *ās* is Semitic for Pazend *𐭠𐭣𐭥* *maê* (Per. می), "wine".

Now in this Persian *Virāf-nāmeḥ*, we find no mention of *mang* or any narcotic. We find simply wine (*mae* می and *bādah* باد). Again the wine is said to have been consecrated *ز اول کار جام می یبختند*.³ Again, the wine was drunk three times; at first, with the idea of good thoughts, then with that of good words and, lastly, with that of good deeds. So, I beg to suggest, that the word *mang* is not the Indian *mang*, but a Persian plant. Possibly, the word may have been miswritten for *maê*, wine.

1 Hoshangji's and Haug's *Virāf-nāmeḥ*, Introduction, p. LX.

2 *Ibid.*

3 See *Arda Virāf-nāmeḥ* by Dastur Kaikhusru Dastur Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, p. 3, last line.

The picture (f. 6a), wherein, no sooner Ardai Viraf

The painting of
the Presentation
of Food after the
Trance.

awoke from the trance, the six Dasturs who observed a watch over him, present food before him, and all that is said in the text—both Pahlavi and Persian—show the importance attached to food and to physical comforts. No sooner does Viraf awake, before giving an account of his vision, he wants food, feeling hungry for having remained hungry for full seven days. During the state of trance also, there continued to be wastage which required reparation. In Zoroastrian writings, the health of body is first thought of and then that of mind.

The picture of the Kerdâr or good life of a pious soul,

The picture of
the Kerdâr of the
Soul.

in the form of a maiden, draws our special attention. The maiden is stark naked, though the departed soul of the person approaching her is clad, as it were, in full apparel. This picture, and what is said of that maiden in the text, is as it were, a fitting commentary upon, the general view associated with the preparations of a *siâv* or a suit of clothes, consecrated on the third night after death and on other subsequent occasions. The original idea is that of the presentation of food and clothing and utensils to the poor and the needy, as charity, in honour of the dead. The *siâv* is very properly spoken of in our later books as *Jâmeh-i Ashodâd*, i.e., the clothing to be presented in charity to the righteous. That original idea is lost sight of, and people associate the custom with a mistaken belief that the suit of clothes is necessary for the departed soul, which, in this painting, is represented to be naked.

This picture presents to us the balance in which the deeds are weighed by the presiding

The picture of
Judgment.

judge Meher, who carefully looks at the balance. The person standing behind is Rashna, holding a pen in one hand and paper in the

other to register the exact weight of deeds. Then, the picture of a young man, sitting with his finger before his face, draws our special attention. It is like that which we see in some of our Iranian sculptures.¹

The picture of Viraf's appearance before God is interesting. God is invisible, so the artist has represented merely his empty throne.

The Heavens or Paradises are said to be three, each rising in grade. They are the paradises (1) of the star-track, (2) the moon-track, and (3) the sun-track (*Seter-pâyeh*, *Mâh-pâyeh* and *Khorshed-pâyeh*). They are represented by pictures of stars, the moon and the sun. The stars, though they are the most-heavenly, *i.e.*, situated in the highest heaven, higher than the moon and the sun, are in ordinary appearance smaller and less brilliant than the moon, which, in its turn, is less brilliant than the sun. So, the grades of heaven, as represented by these heavenly bodies, are in the order of their visible brilliance and not of their distance from the earth.

The picture on folio 28 is that of two sons on whose death there was too much of lamentation by the survivors. The picture is distressing. The picture sets us athinking, that why should the souls of those, after whom there was too much of lamentation, be thrown in such a distress, through the fault of the survivors who lamented much after them. I think, that this may be explained by what is said in the Vendidad. There, it is said, that there may be more mourning and lamentation for the wicked than for the virtuous. This may seem strange and paradoxical because

1 *Vide* my paper on "Some Prayer-gestures of the Babylonians and Assyrians. Their parallels among the ancient Iranians and modern Parsees" (Jour. B.B.R.A.S., Vol. of 1920. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part III, p. 188-89. *Vide* my paper on "Tibetan Salutations" in the Sir J. J. Z. Madressa Jubilee Volume edited by me.

it is the loss of the virtuous that should be felt more than that of the wicked. But, the idea at the bottom seems to be that those, who had led an honest virtuous life, have all gone to the happy abode of the blissful; so, there must be no sorrow, no regret, no mourning, for their death. But, in the case of those who had led a bad life in this world, the surviving relatives and friends have reason to be sorry that they would be punished in the next world. So, the amount of grief for the dead should be in a proportion, inverse to the amount of their virtues. The more the dead were virtuous, the less the fear of their being punished, and so the less the grief.

As said by me in my Introduction to the late Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala's edition of Darab Hormazdyar's Rivāyat (pp. 4-5), there are two kinds of Rivāyats—the Collective Rivāyats and the Classified Rivāyats. Barzo Kamdin was a scribe who wrote both these kinds of Rivāyats. I have described in my above Introduction (pp. 5-13) his Collective Rivāyats at some length. It has three colophons which give dates as follows:—

1. Roz 29-3-1006 (4-1-1637 A.D.)
2. „ 14-5-1006 (18-2-1637 A.D.)
3. „ 22-10-1006 (26-6-1637 A.D.)

A rare manuscript of this kind of his Collective Rivāyats belongs to Ervad Mahyār Nowroji Kutār. It is a volume $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5 \times 1$ inches in size and has 311 folios with folios 41-209 missing.

I will collect here a few dates about the life and work of the scribe Barzo Kamdin:—

- | | | |
|------------------------|-----|----------------------------|
| 14th October 1626 | ... | His name mentioned in the |
| (Roz 4, <i>Mah</i> 1, | | Rivāyat of Bahman Aspan- |
| <i>Kadmi</i> 996.) | | dyar. |
| 13th August 1627 | ... | His name found in a letter |
| (Roz 9, <i>Mah</i> 11, | | brought to India from Per- |
| <i>Kadmi</i> 996.) | | sia by Bahman Aspandiyar. |

- 5th January 1628 ... Wrote the manuscript of *Ardai*
 (*Roz 27, Mah 3, 997 A.Y.*) *Viraf-nāmeḥ* in Persian.
 1630 ... Date of his Collective *Rivāyat*.
 4th January 1637 ... The date of the first colophon
 (*Roz 29, Mah 3, 1006.*) of his Collective *Rivāyat* Ms.
 belonging to *Ervād Māhiyār Kutar*.
 18th February 1637 ... Date of the second colophon
 (*Roz 14, Mah 5, 1006.*) of the above.
 26th July 1637 ... Date of the third colophon of
 (*Roz 22, Mah 11, 1006.*) the above.
 23rd November 1649 ... A letter addressed to him by
 (*Roz 20, Mah 2, Kadmi 1019.*) the *Dasturs* of Persia and
 sent through *Rustam Jandal*.
 19th July 1670 ... He is addressed first in the
 (*Roz 23, Mah 10, Kadmi 1039.*) *Rivāyat* from Persia brought
 by *Rustom Khorshed As-
 pandyar*.
 1671 ... Death.

Barzo Kamdin's His Collective *Rivāyat* has three
Colophons, colophons. The first runs as follows:—

کاتب الحروف من بنده دین به مزدیسنان دستور برزو
 بن قوام الدین بن کیقباد بن هرمزیار لقب سنجانان پرستار آتش
 وهرام ساکن قصبه نوساری داخل بلاد گجرات از ملک
 هندوستان با رفیع القدر الکان و نوشته شد بروز مهرسفند ماه
 خرداد سال اول هزار شش از شاهنشاه یزد گرد شهریار

Translation:—Writer of these writings, I, servant of
 the good *Mazdayasnān* religion, *Dastur Barzo*, son of
Qavāmu-d-din, son of *Kaikōbad*, son of *Hormazyār*, sur-
 named *Sanjānā*; a worshipper of the *Ātash-Behrām*, inhabit-
 ant of the town of *Naosari* included in the cities of
Gujarat in the country of *Hindustan*, containing many

noble buildings. Written on 1002 Mahresfand, *mah* Khordād, year 1006 of Emperor Yazdagar Shehryar.

Barzo Kamdin gives his own pedigree in his own hand in his above Collective Rivāyat. It runs as follows:—

Barzo — Kamdin — Kaikobād — Hormazyār.

In two of his colophons of this Rivāyat he speaks of himself as Dastur and in third or the last as Herbadzādeh.

From the pedigree given here and from the pedigree of his grand nephew, Darab Hormazyār and other relatives, a table can well be prepared.¹ I give below a table of his pedigree connecting him with Darab Hormazyār and other distinguished relatives.

Nāgan Rām (one of the three priests who carried the sacred Fire of Iran Shāh after² the sack of Sanjan to Naosari).

Narsang

Kama

Padam

Hamajyār (his name appears in a document of 1543 A.D. *Parsee Prakash* I, p. 8.)

Kaikobad (his name appears in Kaus Māhyār's Rivāyat of 1601. *Ibid.* p. 839).

Kamdin (Bahman Aspandiyar's Rivāyat of 1626, *Ibid.* p. 11).

Bahman

Ekji

Framarz

Burjo

Hormuzyār

Darab

1 I give it here as given in my book "Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i Sanjan," page 7.

2 *Vide* Prof. S. H. Hodiwala's article "Jadi Rana and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan." *Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 349-370.

ON WINE AND FEASTS IN THE IRANIAN NATIONAL EPIC

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF

F. ROSENBERG

translated by

L. BOGDANOV.

In fairy-tales, legends and popular epics, wine and intoxicating beverages in general occupy, as we know, a very prominent place. All works of that kind of popular creative mind are, without any doubt, reflections of the life and lore of a given people independently of the fact whether their recension belongs to an anonymous collective¹ or, as is the case with the Persian national epic, to an individual historical personality. The prominent rôle of wine in the life of nations is not an accidental phenomenon; it is not a symptom of the licentiousness or of the depravation of a certain people, but a phenomenon, the explanation of which should be sought in the domain of human psychology in general. There were not, there are not and there cannot be such physical, climatical, economical or political conditions which could have answered the ideas of a life of perfection for which, consciously or unconsciously, every man, every people, who are not merely vegetating but are living a real life, are yearning. The combination of means and ways chosen by a certain people, according to their natural qualities and abilities, in order to attain superior forms of life, represents something which we call its culture. But these ways are full of obstacles

¹ The theory of the so-called "collective creation" has been abandoned by modern investigators, v. Oldenburg, Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction, new series LXIV (1916, No. 8), section 2, p. 303.

and disappointments, and therefore one needs to be abstracted from the realities of life, to be encouraged to indulge in illusions, to forget oneself. The most accessible and the least harmful of the multiform expedients for the satisfaction of that yearning was discovered by mankind, when still at the dawn of its conscious life, in the action of intoxicating beverages. Those beverages served in the form of *soma* (*haoma*), nectar, mead, wine, etc., among the peoples who are responsible for the creation of our culture, especially among those belonging to the Indo-European group, as a means to attain physical and mental strength¹, health, longevity, nay even immortality and union with the divinity. In India *fire* and *soma* were considered as the greatest gifts of the gods to mankind and, *vice versa*, the most becoming of offerings from men to the gods. The meaning of wine, both in its real and symbolical sense, is well known in most of heathen religions, more especially in mysteries, as well as in the Judæo-Christian cult and in Muslim esoterism. Coming into existence, according to popular traditions, simultaneously with the first manifestations of civilisation (Dionysus-Bacchus; Noah; Hūshang) the use of stimulating or benumbing drugs favourable to illusions accompanies peoples all along the stages of their further cultural development². Yet, the dreams of a hap-

1 Σίτου και οἶνου το γὰρ μένος ἔστι και ἀλχη (Iliad, IX 706; XIX, 161). The expression *aqua vitae*—*eau de vie*, which has since received a profane sense, has a deep spiritual meaning.

2 Regarding the antiquity of the art of making wine and the use of intoxicating beverages, cf., for instance, Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* (Berlin, 1870), pp. 21 foll.; O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte* (Jena, 1883), pp. 376 foll. On their importance in religious ceremonies, we shall confine ourselves to pointing out, from the very extensive literature on the subject, merely: Söderblom, *La vie future d'après le Mazdéisme* (Ann. du Musée Guimet, Bibl. d'Etudes IX, Paris 1901), more parti-

pier life on earth do not materialize, the ideal remains inaccessible and, owing to its inaccessibility, assumes a dim outline of a golden age, of a life after death, of pantheons, inhabited by anthropomorphic gods. But the idea of such blissful life is connected in the conception of mankind to such a degree with intoxicating beverages, that even there one cannot do without wine. In Hesiod men of the golden age pass their leisures invariably in merry feasts, even the inhabitants of the Muslim paradise are enjoying the liquor¹, prohibited during their terrestrial life, and even the immortal gods themselves are luxuriously feasting and drinking assiduously.

In their ways of inventing drugs for the satisfaction of their instincts peoples are quite ingenious. It should seem that the whole gamut would have been passed beginning with the "golden" mead or the fragrant "juice of the vine" and ending with "fire-water" or a second infusion of the intoxicant already used as practised in the far North-East; but a long string of succedanea of the newest formation came to prove that a great many possibi-

cularly pp. 330 foll.; Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altert.* I, 2 (2nd edition, 1909), more especially pp. 810 foll. and 826 foll.; Zimmern, *Lebensbrot u. Lebenswasser* (*Archiv f. Religionswiss.* II), pp. 172 foll.; more especially, Tander, *Ceremonial intoxication and the oldest alcoholic beverage known to mankind* (*Journal of the Russian Ministry of Public Instruction*, new series XVIII, [1908, 12], sect. 2, pp. 203-257).

1 Grünbaum (*Neue Beitr. z. semit. Sagenkunde*, Leiden 1893, p. 64) quotes from *Tabari* and *Ibn al-Athir* a legend, according to which Eve, before inducing Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit, gives him wine to drink. The above-mentioned Arab authors repudiate that theory on the authority of the XXXVII chapter of the *Qur'an*, where it is mentioned in verse 46 that the wine of paradise is "a liquid.....which causes no headache, from which one does not get drunk". According to the *Midrashim* (Grünbaum, *ibid.*) the forbidden fruit was nothing but the grape.

ities have still remained latent in this domain.

The individual and social organisms of different peoples are, without any doubt, influenced, besides climatic-political and other conditions, by the kind and quantities of beverages used or abused of¹; more than that, these beverages must be considered as one of the indicators of the cultural level of a certain people. The feasts of the Greeks of Homer are quite unlike the wild revels of Northern peoples, far different from the chaste knights of King 'Arthur's table are the heroes of the circle of Vladimir, the Red Sun, and how different, in spite of their indubitable relation, are the Persian—Rustam and the Russian Ilya Murometz.

The extremely ancient epic material of the Persian popular traditions was collected under the Sasanian dynasty (226-651 A.D.) in the "Book of the Lords" the "Khvatay Nāmak" composed in Pahlavi, *i.e.* in Middle-Persian language. Translated in the middle of the 8th century into 'Arabic, these traditions came down to us, besides many abstracts in 'Arabic authors, as one of the most brilliant national epics of all times and peoples, namely in the Modern-Persian "Book of Kings" the "Shāhnāma". Its author, 'Abul Qāsim Firdawsī completed his gigantic work, comprising about 60,000 rhymed distichs, in 1010 A.D. The epic embraces all the history of the Persian people from the most ancient mythical period up to the Arab invasion, the resulting fall of the Sasanian dynasty and the death of

1 That is what ought to be taken into consideration in our country instead of trying to imitate the experiment of the emperor Domitianus (Svetonius, Domit. VII). We deemed it worth while to mention the above-quoted truths as against the ignorant and hypocritical ravings of the modern prohibitionists.

its last representative Yazdigird III (651 A.D.).

By the special investigators of the "Shāhnāma" it is established as a fact that Firdawsī was extremely scrupulous as regards the material which reached him, preferring to put side by side two different versions of the same episode rather than make alterations in them or unify them for the sake of literary arrangement.¹

As regards feasts and table-customs, the so often encountered descriptions of which are of an astonishing similarity, whether they refer to the mythical antiquity of the time of Hūshang and Faridūn or to the fully historical period of the later Sasanids, which can be considered as an epoch comparatively close to the time of Firdawsī himself, one has to suppose that our poet strictly followed in that respect himself those laudable practices, or else,—and that is more probable,—he completed deficiencies in the details of his sources in the spirit of his time which must have been, it would seem, taking into consideration the general stability of customs in the East, very much akin to the manners of the Sasanian period, but hardly could have entirely corresponded to the customs of the more ancient times.

But not only the mythical Faridūn and the Sasanid Khosrow Parvīz are feasting in the "Shāhnāma" almost in a similar way, but also the feasts of the kings of Tūrān, of the Khāqān of China, of the Qaysar of Rūm (Byzantium) or of the queen of Andalusia little differ one from the other. It is sometimes impossible not to be amazed both by the confused ideas regarding foreign peoples and by the anachronisms which abound in the "Shāhnāma", although, certainly, one must not demand from a Persian of

¹ See, for instance, Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, trad. (the small edition), vol. I, Préface p. LV; vol. VI, p. V; Nöldeke, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, II, pp. 168 foll.

the 10th century, even be he a learned man, any historical or ethnographical accuracy. To Firdawsi and his contemporaries, Philip and Alexander of Macedonia, for instance, are Byzantine Christian emperors like the Emperor Mauricius and Heraclius. The traditional enemies of the Iranians—the Turanians¹ are, in Firdawsi's idea, real Turks and their mythical king Afrāsiyāb speaks Turkish². Ancient kings say their prayers in the temples of fire and "worship the Zend-Avesta"³ long before the advent of Zoroaster. It is astonishing at first view to hear from the lips of Isfandiyār, a contemporary of Zoroaster and the chief propagandist of his law, a mention of an idol-worshipping shaman. It does, of course, not refer to shamans in our sense of the word, but to Buddhists inhabiting countries contiguous with Persia⁴. Doubtful seems

1 cf. Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums* I, 2 (2nd edit.), pp. 814 ff.

2 1338, 2261 : بترک چو آن ناله بشنید هوم.—In our quotations the double figures divided by a comma refer to the page and the verse of the Persian text of the *Shāhnāma* in the Vullers-Landauer edition; the figures preceded by the letter C. refer to the page of Turner-Macan's Calcutta edition, without any particular mention of the verse discussed.

3 As, for instance, 1385, 2222 foll.

4 1450, 95 : شمنان pl. شمن.—پرستش کنم چون بتان را شمن.—In Arabic *سمينون* — *السمنة* — *شمنية* is a common term of Firdawsi's time to denote a Buddhist (Hamza Isf., Bīrūnī, Mas'ūdī, Rūdakī, Minūchihri etc.), cf. Σαμαναί (Porphyry, Origen), Σαμαναί (Clim. of Alexandria). The dictionaries under the word شمن give the meaning *idol-worshipper* (but < Buddhaj. Mohl (small edition IV, 230), however, translates unreservedly "comme le Schamane adore ses idoles". The disputable question regarding the connection between the word from which our modern term *shaman* is derived and the Persian شمن (Sansk. *śramaṇa* = *bhikṣu*, i.e. a Buddhist or Jain monk, a beggar, an ascetic) was

also the custom attributed to Greek envoys of abstracting valuable goblets after drinking the wine served in them.

considered, thanks to the preposterous Banzarov supported by Schott, as solved negatively with regard to the so-called "French", i.e. Indo-Iranian, theory, and in favour of the Tungusic origin of our word. Prof. Pelliot (JAs. XI sér. t. I [1913] pp. 466 foll.), however, considers it to remain still an open question and shows that the question as to the origin and the history of the Tungusic word has not yet been solved. The Ju-chen word *chan-man* (= *šaman*) meaning "a witch", discovered by him in a Chinese text, belongs to the beginning of the XII century A.D. In the absence of any concrete connecting link, it seems hardly probable that the Tunguses should have borrowed from the far-away Indo-Iran one of their special cult-terms (amongst Turks *qam*, amongst Mongols *högä*, although the word *šaman* is also encountered); not more probable is, naturally, also the idea of a casual consonance of two words which have nothing in common, although their meaning, if not identical, happens to be very much the same.

The discoveries of the three last decades were apt to dispel to a considerable degree the darkness pervading the domain of cultural inter-relations of the peoples who inhabited Central Asia in ancient times. The materials found by Sir A. Stein, P. Pelliot, the collections of German and Russian expeditions, and in particular the investigations pursued by F. W. K. Müller, R. Gauthiot and C. Salemann of the Russian Academy of Sciences, brought to life again the tongue of an Iranian people, the very name of which has been lost for many centuries, and which is nowadays conditionally called *Soghdian*. That people once exercised a tremendous civilizing and cultural influence all over Central Asia up to the confines of China. The Soghdian documents discovered up till now belong to the first millennium of our era. It seems to us that in our question regarding the word *šaman* it would be worth our while to have recourse to the Soghdians who might prove to be that connecting link between the West and the Far East, the absence of which up to the latest times we had just occasion to mention. In Soghdian the word ŠMN (*šaman*) happens to be a thoroughly regular equivalent of Sanskrit *gramaṇa*. In Buddhist-Soghdian texts these "*šamans*" are constantly mentioned along with *upāsakas* and *brahmanas*, as constituting a part of Buddha's retinue, whereat *šamans* are always mentioned in the first place. An unpublished fragment brought by S. F. Olden-

Thus, for instance, Alexander of Macedonia, who appears himself as his own envoy at the court of Dārā, provokes the mirth of the king of kings by such behaviour¹.

burg of the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1915 contains an abstract noun Š M N Y "K (H) (*šamanyak*) derived from š m n (more directly from the adjective Š M N Y) in the meaning of "the dignity of a shaman," as a title conferred by Buddha on some of his followers in the same way as the degree of an *arhat* etc. The Soghdians wielded an extraordinary supremacy all over Central Asia both in the cultural, and in the political sense of the word, which is irrefutably proved by the presence of Soghdian, along with Uiguric and Chinese, in the trilingual inscription of Q a r a B a l g h a s u n (IX century). That wide spread of the Soghdian language makes it sufficiently possible that, on the one hand, the Soghdian term denoting an ascetic, a person having communion with God, had found its way to the Far East. On the other hand, that term might have been borrowed by some of the peoples of those parts (maybe, through the instrumentality of Chinese syncretism) in order to denote their own native mediators between man and the unknown powers of the great beyond.

Both in the Christian-Soghdian dialect and in Turfan-Pahlavi the same word was used in the meaning of "devil"; amongst Mongols and Ugurs the word *šmnu*, *šimnu*, *šumnu*, meant "a demon" (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica* [1908], p. 58; Salemann, *Manichæica* V, *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1913, p. 1129). Very interesting light is thrown on the relation between Buddhism and Shamanism by a decree of the Uigur Khāqān in Chavannes et Pelliot's *Un traité Manichéen* etc. *JAs. XI série, t. 1* (1913), pp. 193 foll. and note 2. Father Hyacinth ("China", p. 230) says: "The fact that the first *ongots* to whom prayers are addressed at the morning sacrifice are Shoghiamoni, Boddhisattva and Huang-di, seems to point to a connection with Buddhism". That refers naturally to recent times, but we must not forget that the universally accepted religious terms "shaman" and "shamanism" are also not very old, certainly not older than the conquest of Siberia by the Russians. D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, Paris 1776-78, does not contain these words; one is induced to conclude here *ex silentio* that these words were not yet current at that time in Western Europe.

1 C. 1271.

Although the notions of the "Shāhnāma" with regard to the lore of the peoples living in the vicinity of Persia are extremely confused often altogether unsound¹, yet no racial or religious antagonism is felt in them. The Iranians do not show any aversion to eating, drinking and inter-marrying with any of the neighbouring peoples. Only once, if I am not mistaken, there arises a doubt on a religious ground: the king of Kābul Mihrāb asks Zāl, the prince of Zābul (of Seistan), to come to his palace, where a feast is arranged in his honour. The other refuses, saying: "this is not possible, thy house is not a place for me. Neither Sām, nor the king would be pleased to hear that we are drinking and getting drunk and frequenting a house of idol-worshippers (بت پرست)"². That episode, however, does not prevent Zāl from marrying, in course of time, a daughter of the same Mihrāb.

The information in classical authors regarding the customs of ancient Persians is very contradictory. Herodotus himself who praises their moderation in food and drink, mentions in another passage the passion of Persians for wine. Cyrus Junior and Darius I are boasting of their ability to drink much. But it seems that the king did not drink to surfeit except during the Mithra-festival. Rapp, taking stand on the Graeco-Roman information collected by himself, makes the conclusion that the ancient Persians, even though they used to drink a great deal, avoided being intoxicated, intoxication, it should seem, being liable to punishment amongst them³.

1 With regard to Firdawsi's attitude towards Christianity cf. Nöldke, op. cit., p. 162. Interesting is the exposition of the religion of the Indians as given by the wise Kharrād, c. 1923, Mohl's translation (small edition), VII, 103 foll.

2 151, 406 foll.; see footnote 4 on page 6.

3 See Rapp, ZDMG, vol. XX, 1896, p. 102.

Although mention of wine occurs in the Avesta, intoxication with the sacred beverage prepared from the plant *haoma* (Ind. *soma*) is chiefly commanded. In the Yasht specially devoted to that plant it is said: "the slightest draught of the *haoma* is sufficient to kill a thousand demons,¹ all the evil caused by demons will disappear immediately from a house where a man makes an offering of the *haoma*, where he praises the healer—*haoma*. Health and healing will appear in his settlement and in his house. "All other intoxications² are connected with *Aeshma* (the wicked demon), the intoxication with the *haoma* is light". Further the *haoma* is called "that which makes a poor man feel as powerful as a rich one".³ In the Vendidad it is said about the demon *Kunda* that he is "drunken without drinking"⁴. Wine is mentioned also in Vd. 14, 17.⁵

In later Mazdayasnian literature for the juice of the *haoma* (*parahom*) or the narcotic *bang* (probably a kind of *hashish*), which produces the wonderful visions of holy men, wine is sometimes substituted. Thus, for instance, king Gushtāsp attains higher wisdom after having drunk of the wine sanctified by Zoroaster himself during the offering of *darun* (Aw. *draona*)⁶; and before Zoroaster himself all the mysteries of the world are unveiled after Ahura-Mazda gives him to drink a drop of mead.⁷

1 Hōm Yt. Ysn. 10, 6.7.8.

2 See Darmesteter, Le Zendavesta I, p. 100 and note 22.

3 Hōm Yt. 10, 13.

4 Vd. 19, 41.

5 See also Bartholomae, Altiran. Wörterbuch, pp. 1113, 1114, 1116.

6 See my edition of the Z ar ā t u s h t N ā m a (St. Petersburg, 1904), text pp. 1165 foll., translation p. 59 and the notes.

7 *Ibid.*, text p. 1286, translation p. 65. The Persian text has got خورد which means both "to eat" and "to drink", but the context (نظم) shows that it is rather a beverage that is meant, i.e. "mead", not "honey", therefore on p. 65 line 11 instead of "manges-en une parcelle" it is to be read "bois-en une goutte".

Wine in the *Shāhnāma* is called *می* or *نید* or *باده* or simply *شراب*; there also occurs *مل* and *بکماز*¹. Although in the dictionaries a distinction is made between these names, the word *نید* being explained as the name of a kind of wine prepared from dry raisins or dates², we think that these names were used by Firdawsī indiscriminately and their use only depended upon the demands of verse and rhyme and designated generally the wine of vine. One can presume that in the pre-Islamic period in Persia as in Turkestan wine was made on a far wider scale than later, in the Islamic period.³

The date-wine offered to Khosrow Parviz in a Christian monastery⁴ where he finds shelter when tracked by

1 189, 1083; 1061, 214; 1649, 2687. Neither in the *Shāhnāma* nor in Turner-Macan's supplement (*Garshāsp-nāma* etc.) can be found the verse quoted in the *بهارعجم* s.v. *بکماز* :

یکی بزم سام آنگهی ساز کرد * سه روز اندران بزم بکماز کرد

We were also unable to trace the verse quoted in 'Abdulqādirī Bagdādensis Lexicon Shahnamiānum, ed. Salemann (Petropoli 1895) p. 31 under No. 313. *Begmāz* in the *Shāhnāma* means both "wine" and "feast"; the word is obviously a Turkish one, see Radloff, Dictionary, s.v. *pākmāz* and *bākmāz*.

2 See also Ibn Khaldoun, *Prolégomènes hist. trad.* S. Lane (Not. et Extr. t. XIX, 1, p. 35 note) "...le jus fermenté de toutes les espèces de fruits. Le moût de raisin ou de dattes réduit par la cuisson à la moitié de son volume primitif formait selon les docteurs hanéfites une boisson légale".

3 cf. Tomaschek, *Centralasiat. Studien*, I, p. 133; Korszinskij, *Ampelography of Crimea*, part I, p. 12 (published by the Russian Bureau of Applied Botany, edit. by R. E. Regel, St. Petersburg, 1910); Barthold, *Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences*, 1916, pp. 823 foll. It is not clear on what are based the words of Rapp (l.c.): "...während in Persien gressentheils kein Wein wuchs".

4 یزدان سزای (sic) C. 1893, 9.

Bahṛām Chūbīn is called first می از خرما and then in the following verses می simply and بادۃ سرح¹. Once (besides the satire) is mentioned "fuqā" (فقا²) which according to the dictionaries is a beverage much the same as beer and is made of corn غله. Fuqā* with ice and spices is served to Bahṛām Gūr in the morning after a night revel.

Red wine for preference is partaken of described as ruby-coloured³, colour of the cornaline of Yemen,⁴ as similar to amber (یجادہ) in sunlight⁵, as outshining the sun⁶, or rosy-cheeked like the beloved⁷, clear and fragrant like rose-water⁸ or similar to yellow gold⁹. Rustam, a great lover of wine, prefers the red wine of Zābul, his mother-country.¹⁰ Sometimes wine is diluted with rose-water or it is mixed with musk and amber¹¹. Old wine of course, is especially valued (ساختوردہ - کهن); it restores one's strength¹², old men become younger from it¹³, the cheeks of the king and the courtiers are blossoming up like roses¹⁴. The wine of kings is also mentioned (بادۃ خسروی - شاهوار) which seems to be very strong, as it has to be diluted with water, which, however, provokes Rustam's indignation¹⁵. In the same passage of Mohl's text boiled بخندہ and raw خام wine are compared and the latter is considered, as it seems, to be stronger¹⁶. "Unboiled" wine is also partaken of by Isfandiār in order to allay his anger and to forget his wrongs¹⁷. Goblets and drinking-cups, according to the

1 *Ibid.* vv. 18, 20, 21, 22. 2 C. 1527. 3 C. 1428; C. 1457; C. 2010 etc. 4 1068, 51. 5 1893, 19. 6 *Ibid.* v. 20.
7 Mohl, V, 658, v. 1290; C. 1535 reads میگساری = drunkard, cup-bearer. 8 1074, 162; C. 1906. 9 C. 1551. 10 421, 612 and 620. 11 216, 1658. 12 1078, 229. 13 1444, 3187.
14 1644, 2591. 15 1677, 3190 foll. 16 See p. 381, note 3; Mohl's translation (small edit. IV, 504 foll.) gives the impression of a certain inconsistency. 17 1633, note 1.

means, are made of gold studded with pearls, more often of crystal (بلور). Kay Khosrow drinks in a goblet made of a ruby¹ (ياقوت). A goblet fell once into the hands of Khosrow Parvīz bearing the name of his enemy Bahrām Chūbīn engraved on it which nearly led to the destruction of the city of Ray². The poor drink in whatever vessels they have to hand; an old woman, entertaining the defeated and pursued Bahrām Chūbīn, serves him wine in an old pumpkin³.

Feasts are divided into two separate acts. The first is devoted to eating, the second to drinking "When the bread has been eaten, one ought to take the drinking-cup"⁴. During the feasts in palaces, in the presence of a king, honoured guests are invited to the king's table; the food is served in dishes of gold; beautiful young boys, adorned with jewels, are waiting at table. After the repast is finished the guests pass to another apartment, where tables are placed around the throne; cup-bearers with faces of *parīs* serve wine in goblets adorned with fragrant roses, they burn incense, they spill musk and saffron; sound of luths and flutes, and of gay songs are filling the air. When the weather is favourable feasts are held in gardens among flowers, when bonfires⁵ are sometimes lighted. Music and singing are the necessary attributes of a feast: "all were drinking to the sound of music, or were joyfully singing songs"⁶. In another case, at night, women are dancing to the sound of music "so that the king's soul should not be clouded"⁷.

Feasting and singing is going on chiefly, but not exclusively, by night. The wise Khosrow Parvīz divides all his daily duties in four sections. The first is devoted to

1 1067, 46. 2 C. 1986. 3 C. 1943. 4 C. 1524.
5 1615, 2103; C. 1505. 6 229, 1780. 7 C. 1540, at the end.

state affairs, the second—to pleasures, to music and to friendly conversation with the grandees, the third—to prayer, the first half of the fourth—to the observation of the sky and to philosophy, the other half—to the drinking of wine in the company of beautiful women.¹ Not only the men are feasting, the noble women are feasting as well. Maniža, when entertaining in her tent her lover Bižan, drinks with him for three days and nights, until weariness and drunkenness overcome them both.² Bahrām Gūr, while hunting, comes by chance to a certain village in the heat of a winter-feast. Apart from the men, the young girls are banqueting, amongst them four beauties, daughters of a miller, with wreaths on their heads, with flowers in their hands in a setting of music, singing and blazing bonfires. The long and short of it is that Bahrām marries all the four of them.³ The daughter of the Khāqān of China, during a picnic with her maids, when partaking of wine served around by her cup-bearers, perishes torn to pieces by the lion Kapi ultimately killed by Bahrām Chūbīn⁴. Not only music of the lighter kind is heard during the feasts. Often there appear bards and storytellers (چاهه گو—سرائنده—رامشگر) who record in their songs the great deeds of heroes or heroes themselves narrate their exploits. Listening to a demon-singer, who sings the praises of Mazandarān, the self-conceited Kai Kāus decides under the influence of wine to undertake a campaign against that country of Divs.⁵ In the heat of a revel king Gushtāsp asks Isfandiyār to narrate his exploits. The later answers : “do not ask me to do it during the feast... tomorrow, when you will be sober (پیشاری) I will tell you everything”.⁶ King Balash is feasting, but on account of the death of Pīrūz there is no joy; all the singers cele-

1 C. 1990.

2 1078, 229 foll.

3 C. 1505 foll.

4 C. 1956.

5 316, 16 foll.

6 1629, 2363 foll.

brate Sūfarāi and sing to the sounds of luths about the war with Tūrān.¹ The singer Bārbud charms with his heroic songs Khosrow Parviz.²

To the numerous erotic adventures of Bahrām Gūr Firdawsī tries to give a less cynical interpretation, bestowing on the heroines of these adventures not only the skill to do the office of cup-bearers, but also the talent of singing war-like songs celebrating the glories of ancient heroes or of Bahrām himself. Reminiscences of heroic antiquity are generally connected with wine. Firdawsī drinks wine whilst the beloved is reading to him from an old book the romance of Bīžan and Manīža.³ The eloquent *dihqān* well versed in the legends of antiquity while telling the story of the seven great deeds of Isfandiyār, drinks wine from a golden goblet.⁴ When seeing in a dream the poet Daqīqī, who asks him to preserve the part (1000 verses) of the Shāhnāma, written by him, Firdawsī is holding in his hand a cup of wine like unto rose-water.⁵ Judging from an old miniature which has reached us, Mohl concludes that Firdawsī himself, like the story-tellers of old, used to read his epic before Sultān Maḥmūd and his courtiers to the accompaniment of music and dances.⁶

As has been seen, drinking in the Shāhnāma goes on regularly after the meals and for preference, at night, although not exclusively. Faridūn, for instance, when awaiting the arrival of Iraj prepares a feast by daytime.⁷ Isfandiyār entertains Rustam at noon.⁸ Hormuzd, on account of the treaty with the Khāqān of China, who is staying at his court, gives orders to serve wine at day-break.⁹

1 C. 1602.

2 C. 2008 foll.

3 1065 foll.

4 1586, 1543.

5 1495, 1.

6 Préface A. XXXII.

cf. Nöldeke, op. cit., p. 153, at the end, and foll.

7 91, 543 foll.

8 1677, 3181.

9 C. 1841, at the end.

The table-customs are regulated by a series of rules, the knowledge of which is considered obligatory for every educated man, still more for kings. The art of drinking wine enters, therefore, as an important item into the programme of education of princes, along with other knightly accomplishments. Rustam, when bringing up in his native Zābulistān the then heir-apparent Siyāvush, having provided him with a horse and full equipment for war and chase, instructs him in state-affairs and military arts and all the virtues required in a prince and then causes a reception-hall to be built for him without forgetting wine and boon-companions to be provided for the young prince.¹ Gushtāsp, when complaining to his noblemen about the ingratitude of his son Isfandiyār, mentions having taught him besides other things, to drink and to ride on horseback.² During the sojourn of Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, at Rustam's place, that powerful prince of Zābulistan teaches him how to ride, to drink and to entertain guests.³ The young Suhrāb, son of Rustam, is being educated in Tūrān. Messengers inform the father that he "with his lips smelling of milk drinks already wine and will, no doubt, soon become a hero".⁴ Shāpūr, the son of Ardashīr Bābakān, is instructed in Pahlavī writing, horsemanship, military art, liberality, wine-drinking and the art of banqueting (کاربزم), etc.⁵ At the beginning of the feast it is obligatory to drink the king's health if he is present, but also in his absence, and the king (should he be present) drinks, in his turn, the health of his courtiers: یاد خوردن or یاد.⁶ After having mentioned first the king, those present drink the health of their friends: Rustam, when starting for his campaign against Afrāsiyāb (the deed of "seven heroes") asks for wine of Zābul; after having mentioned the name of

1 528, 88.

2 1549, 929 (M o h l).

3 1725, 4015.

4 463, 461.

5 C. 1397.

6 1629, 2362.

king Kāus, he empties his cup, kisses the ground and asks for a second cup, which he drinks for Tūs, and the third, for Zavāra¹. The same Rustam, having quarrelled with Kai Kāus, when going to drink, deliberately omits mentioning the name of the king.² Rustam again, when his indignation is roused by the injustice of King Gushtāsp, drinks the health "of free men" in the very presence of prince, Bahman, who transmits to him the order of his arrest adding for the benefit of the prince: "and thou mayest drink the health of whomsoever thou wishest".³

Prince Siyāvush, who was loaded with benefits by Afrāsiyāb, whose daughter he had married, is slandered by the courtiers who accuse him of having changed his mind, of entertaining messengers from Īrān and of mentioning, the name of Kāus when drinking wine.⁴ When feasting, the health of heroes, of friends, of those present is drunk, whereat the host, or one of the elders, drinks the cup first⁵. When a guest is to be particularly honoured, he is allowed to drink the first cup⁶. The conversation by which the drinking of wine is accompanied consists of complimentary phrases exchanged by the revellers; for instance, the gardener who entertains King Shāpūr addresses his guest as follows: "this house is thine house, and its gardener—thine guest..... the one who is more noble drinks first, thou art old in mind, although young in years"⁷, or "this house is thine house, and its master—thine guest and treasurer"⁸: The reply is, "the master of this house is also my master"⁹ or "may wine and one who drinks thy wine be a joy for thee"¹⁰. To Isfandiyār's toast: "may the wine and the meal be sweet (نوش) for thee" Rustam replies: "the wine that I drink with thee is always sweet and fortifies

1 421, 612 foll.

2 465, 491.

3 1652, 2478 foll.

4 636, 2034.

5 C. 1498.

6 C. 1441.

7 C. 1441.

8 C. 1525.

9 C. 1524

10 1652, 2751 (M o h l.).

my wise soul.”¹

Wine is partaken of on all more or less solemn occasions such as: religious festivals, births, marriages, meetings, receptions, before starting for a battle, when taking rest after having accomplished some deed, or merely in order to get more fit for some dangerous undertaking as does, for instance, Kai Kāus during his flight to heaven on an unreliable aeroplane propelled by four hungry eagles². Wine is drunk, of course, also when there is nothing else to do or simply in order to get drunk.

Wine is mentioned for the first time during the reign of Hūshang, the second of the legendary kings of Persia,—the first king mentioned in the Shāhnāma is the original bull-man of the Avesta — Kayūmarth. Hūshang was the first who introduced civilization in the world; up to his time mankind did not know any other food but fruits, it was he who extracted iron from stone³; who began ploughing the soil and who finally struck from a rock the first spark of fire. “On the same night he arranged a feast and drank wine, thus establishing the festival of *Sada*”.⁴ When the new year’s festival, the *Nowrūz*, is established by Jamshīd, along with wine there appear already musicians and singers (رامشگران)⁵. The introduction of the festival of Mihrgān and the custom of resting and feasting on holidays is ascribed to Farīdūn⁶. Generally speaking, religious festivals in Persia, like everywhere, are closely connected with an increased consumption of wine. The spring-festival under Bahrām Gūr is passed in drunken merriment whereat the king himself distributes to every indigent person five dirhams and three *mann* of old wine, which is described as being the colour of pomegranate or of yellow gold⁷. In the prophecy of one Rustam, a gene-

1 1678, 3197-9.

2 409, 439 foll.

3 18, 7.

4 19, 32.

5 26, 55.

6 63, 9.

7 C. 1551.

ral to the last Yazdigird,—regarding the future of Irān under the Arab rule, bitterly sound the words: “there will not be any more feasts and merriment—...after the winter will come the spring, but there will be no wine for the days of joy”¹.

To the most ancient time belongs the description of a nuptial banquet arranged by the king of Kābul Mihrāb on the occasion of the wedding of his daughter Rūdāba with Zāl, the father of Rustam. The queen decorates the palace like a gay paradise, mixes wine with musk and amber, spreads gold-woven carpets, places in the reception hall a sumptuous throne, studded with pearls and precious stones in the whole country spices are strewn about and the ground is besprinkled with rose-water and wine², even the manes of horses are perfumed with musk and saffron,³ goblets full of rubies and emeralds are emptied on the heads of the newly married couple and, after the nuptial ceremony is over, the feasting continues without interruption for seven days: “the whole city was full of drunken noise and the palace resembled paradise in alarm”⁴. On the occasion of the defeat of Afrāsiyāb, Kay Khosrow gives a magnificent feast: *pari*-faced cup-bearers with cheeks like brocade of Rūm; youths, adorned with golden crowns, are playing the luths; golden vessels full of pure musk and rose-water; the king himself splendid in his majesty like the moon of two weeks; the feast ends in all noblemen leaving the palace thoroughly drunk.⁵ During the feast luths are droning, songs are heard, goblets are shining and hands are similar to rubies with stains of the ruby-coloured wine⁶. It is narrated about Alexander of Macedonia that, when leaving the palace of

1 C. 2065. 2 216, 1558 foll. 3 218, 1609—elsewhere
(1046, 1464) the people and the elephants are besprinkled with musk,
wine and saffron. 4 219, 1628. 5 1139, 1304.

6 1108, 740 (M o h l).

the Faghfur of China in a half-drunken state, he holds in his hand a lemon (sic).¹

On the occasion of the reception of the Indian king Shangil by Bahrām Gūr the revellers, after having fed to satisfaction on mutton and roasted fowl served on golden dishes, drink wine from crystal cups; those who drink have their heads adorned with golden coronets, their feet encased in shoes embroidered with pearls. Shangil, who, it seems, does not partake of wine, falls under the spell of the surroundings and fancies Persia as a paradise on earth where all those present smell of musk; finally, seeing that everybody is drunk he modestly retires.² Details change, but, generally speaking, the descriptions of the feasts vary but little: either the noblemen when in a state of intoxication put on their heads wreaths of roses³ or hold in their hands a narcissus⁴ or, when leaving the feast, reeling they lean on a moon-faced (page).⁵

To remain silent during a feast is considered as suspicious: the Iranians besieged on mount Hamāvan are made uneasy by the stillness of their enemies who are usually in the habit of feasting with great noise; the wise *pahlavān Tūs* presumes "that the Turks keep a council or are dead-drunk".⁶

The birth of a prince and particularly that of an heir-apparent gives also, of course, occasion for arranging a feast. On the occasion of the birth of Shāpūr-Zū-l-Aktāf the feast lasts for forty days⁷; the birth of Shīrūya, the son of Khosrow Parvīz from the daughter of the Qaysar, is celebrated in Rūm for a whole week.⁸

In funerals, although, as it seems, they are not accompanied by drinking, wine plays still a certain rôle there

1 C. 1349. 2 C. 1580. 3 1451, 110. 4 1615, 2105.

5 1630, 2368.

6 922, 900: زمی بهش اند.

7 C. 1431.

8 C. 1992, at the end.

as well; together with musk, camphor and spices, wine is placed into the grave or else the burial vault is besprinkled with wine.¹

The receptions of envoys are celebrated with great pomp,—the king, sitting on his throne, is hidden from their eyes by a curtain until the reception formally begins,—and, of course, such receptions end with a feast. This rule is not transgressed even in cases when envoys come with requests of tribute or with a declaration of war².

It is obligatory to drink while taking rest after a battle or after an important business has been completed. Thus, Sām, after having secured the throne of the Kayānians for Naudhar, is being entertained by the king for seven days³; thus also Rustam, after having found on the Alburz Kay-qubād⁴, who had been stolen by the Simurgh. During an interval between his innumerable deeds, Rustam, who is going to subdue the man-eater Kafūr goes a-hunting and indulges in wine for two weeks⁵; the same happens after his victory over the Dīv-i Akvān.⁶ He rests a whole month drinking wine with Kay Khosrow, after having defeated Afrāsiyāb,⁷ and a whole year—after the conquest of Gangdiz, “the paradise-like”.⁸ Soon after his accession to the throne, the same Kay Khosrow makes a tour all over his empire and, whilst feasting in all the cities, accomplishes deeds of justice and munificence.⁹

Wine is partaken of also at partings. Thus, for instance, Zāl and Rustam after the departure of Sām,¹⁰ or Bahrām Gūr with Shangil, though, in the latter case, not so much on account of a parting as in order to celebrate their newly concluded friendship.¹¹ On their reconciliation

1 1741, 4310; C. 2087. 2 1486, 754 foll. 3 247, 58.

4 297, 272. 5 1019, 996 foll. 6 1061, 214.

7 1048, 1491 (M o h l). 8 1376, 2046. 9 768, 65 foll.

10 231, 1814. 11 1577. 12 1071, 612

after a big quarrel Kay Kāus and Rustam drink till they get intoxicated, remembering in the meantime the deeds of former heroes.¹ Wine is partaken of in sorrow, in disappointment, in order to allay the pain of an offence. Rustam gets drunk, when he loses during a hunting expedition his favourite horse Rakhsh.² Afrāsiyāb when defeated tries to drown his sorrow in wine in the paradise-like flower-gardens of Gangdiz.³ Isfandiyār when he grows angry with his father, drinks for two days and nights with moon-faced beauties.⁴ Rustam, when defending himself against the unjust accusations proffered by Isfandiyār, says at the end : " Enough! . . let us drink wine and chase away therewith the sorrows of the soul."⁵ The disgraced Ardashir, when banished by Ardavān, passes his time in drinking wine and listening to music.⁶

Under the influence of wine, now and again, kings and heroes like to boast and to be expansive. Mihrāb of Kābul during a feast at Rustam's "drank such a great quantity of wine that he did not see anybody in the world except himself"; " what have I to do", he exclaimed, " with Zāl and Sām, or the king with his crown and his grandeur?"⁷ Rustam, under the influence of a long drinking-bout, laughs at those who are afraid of the king's anger saying to Gīv, who is urging him to execute the orders of Kāus: " do not be afraid, nobody in the world can do me any harm". Owing to these words he was on the point of being hanged, which, however, does not prevent him some time after that, when he is quite sober, to revile most violently the self-conceited king to his very face.⁸ In a splendid discourse, which precedes his single combat with Isfandiyār, Rustam, who becomes red in his face from the effects of wine, does

1 472, 621 foll.

2 437, 75 foll.

3 1318, 900 foll.

4 1633, 2415.

5 1670, 3975; the second hemistich same as

229, 1790. 6 1369.

7 229, 1793.

8 465, 497; 466, 515 foll.

not stop at cursing king Gushtāsp¹. Gushtāsp under the influence of wine claims from his father Luhrāsp the crown and the throne.² Isfandiyār returns drunk and discontented from a miscarried banquet given in honour of his deeds "of the seven stations" and asking for some more wine complains to his mother of his father's injustice and threatens him with a revolt.³ A quarrel on religious grounds which results in a brawl in the presence of Khusrow Parvīz takes place between the Christian Niyātūs and the Zoroastrian Bandūyi, when they are under the influence of wine.⁴

Advantage is naturally often taken of the drunkenness of an enemy, or drunkenness becomes itself a cause of fatal accidents. Thus, the tipsy sons of Farīdūn fall under the influence of witchcraft on the part of the prince of Yemen.⁵ The treacherous capture of Kāus by the king of Hamāvarān is preceded by a seven days' feast, towards the end of which the Iranians do not recollect, either how, or why, either fear, or harm".⁶ Bižan is intoxicated when being kidnapped by the beautiful Mānīža.⁷ It is not without purpose that Isfandiyār, disguised as a merchant, makes drunk the noblemen of Arjāsp⁸, or tries to make drunk Rustam⁹. The Qayṣar of Rūm, orders the drunken Shāpūr to be sewn up in a donkey's skin¹⁰, but later on he himself in a drunken state is made prisoner by Shāpūr.¹¹ Shāpūr III being soundly asleep after having drained three cups of royal wine is killed by the falling in of his tent¹². One of the last Sasanids Ardashīr, son of Shirūya, dies, strangled during a feast¹³.

Although feasts often degenerate into revelries but as rather an exception than a general rule. Serious affairs

1 1680, 3244 and the preceding. 2 1447, 40. 3 1631, 2388.

4 C. 1947, 5 73, 202 foll. 6 389, 158. 7 1079, 231.

8 1615, 2088 foll. 9 1677: 10 C. 1438. 11 C. 1445

12 C. 1459.

13 C. 2053

are dealt with to the accompaniment of wine, important undertakings are decided upon,—such as,—for instance, the campaign against Māzandarān or the combat of the seven heroes. At a feast in the presence of Kay Khosrow everybody has a heart full of joy, goblets in their hands, red faces, “but nobody is drunken”¹. The same king, expecting the attack by Afrāsiyāb, drinks wine during a council with his noblemen a whole night and a whole day². After a nightly council the pahlavāns leave the palace of Kay Kāus at the light of torches, with joy and mirth in their hearts.³ Khosrow Arūshirvān drinks wine when listening to the discourses of the wise Buzurj-mihr⁴. Edifying speeches are addressed by that king to his noblemen mostly while drinking wine.

We have seen above, that wine is drunk to the accompaniment of stories about olden times and old heroes. Generally speaking, wine is viewed by the Persians mostly in the same light as it was held by the Psalmist: wine for them is a bringer of joy,⁵ who dispels grief and cares⁶; cheeks blossom up from its effects like red roses.⁷ It is considered good for the health⁸ (خوشگوار), but is called also “a drug of madness” (داروی بهشی)⁹; once wine is even administered as a narcotic, namely when Rūdāba has to undergo the Caesarean operation at her delivery of Rustam.¹⁰

The attitude of the Shāhnāma towards the consumption of wine is entirely favourable, and the unavoidable excesses in the use of the same are looked upon at the most with indulgence. The young Rustam, under the influence of the

1 1112, 811.

2 1191, 989.

3 1364, 1792 foll.

4 C. 1660 foll.

5 Thus, for instance, 1050, 23; 1112, 811
1630, 2373; 1644, 2590; C. 1512; C. 1660.

6 229, 1790; 437, 69.

7 1644, 2591.

8 1441, 108; 1630, 2372; C. 1270.

9 C. 1529.

10 223, 1678.

fumes of wine, kills the infuriated "white elephant"¹, and Bahrām Gūr, during the feast at an Indian king's, defeats a professional wrestler after the "wine had troubled his brain"². On many occasions the heroes boast that they are as enduring when drinking wine at a feast, as when fighting in a battle³. Somebody once complained to Anūshirvān the Just of certain rich wine-bibbers, who, it was said, disturbed the slumbers of all the inhabitants of the city. The following wise decision was uttered by the king on that occasion: "it does not matter, not only those but all of you who are wealthy ought to spend your life in joy and merriment and live without offence and grief"⁴.

There are, however, cases when excess is met with a hidden or an open blame. Thus, a "weak wine-drinker"⁵, the prince Bahman replies to the ironical remark made by Rustam to the effect that he does not eat even one hundredth part of what is necessary for Rustam's sound appetite: "it is not becoming for a king's son to be a babbler or a glutton"⁶. Rustam, however, merely laughs at it. The king of Kābul, after having treacherously dug a number of wolf-pits on a hunting ground, invites Rustam to a hunting party, during which he is condemned to perish. He uses words of flattery and self-abasement on that occasion "although thine slave", he says, "might have been drunk or raving and might have shown in his insanity haughtiness, you must forgive my sins" etc.⁷ Bahrām Gūr is blamed by his noblemen for thinking only about love-affairs and feasts, whilst other kings are making conquests.⁸ Shangil, the Indian, as

1 231, 1815 foll. 2 C. 1563, at the end.

3 Thus, for instance, 1678, 3207; 1487, 782; 1108, note 2.

4 C. 1758, at the end. 5 1652, 2752.

6 1652, 2745. 7 1736, 4212 foll. 8 C. 1541.

has been said, having looked with indulgence at the tipsy grandees of Bahrām's court, withdraws quietly.¹ Khosrow Anūshirvān replies to some remarks of his *mūbad* concerning the dissolute life of earlier kings: "they sometimes forgot the glory for the sake of the cup, in my case the glory has overcome the cup".² The conduct of one of the last Sasanids Gurāz Farāyīn, who had dissipated all the riches of his treasury on absurdly luxurious feasts and used to pass his nights in drinking and rambling about in gardens and public squares,³ is most emphatically denounced in the *Shāhnāma*.

Two figures in the epic are prominent, who are undeniably favourites with the people of Persia and whose adventures have been dealt with by the poet with particular fondness. They are—in the ancient epoch Rustam, in the later epoch the Sasanid Bahrām Gūr.⁴ Both of them are untiring wine-drinkers. Both of them, neglecting the generally adopted rule, drink at every time of the day or night, beginning sometimes in the morning. With regard to both of them it is mentioned that on the morning after a revel they drink to dispel the fumes of last night⁵. During the feast given in honour of the "seven heroes" news is received of the advance of Afrāsiyāb. Rustam, paying no attention, keeps on drinking and asking for more and more wine. Finally the pahlavāns, unable to stand the strain, begin to ask for mercy, saying: "we cannot hold this cup, Iblīs himself could not be thine equal as regards wine".⁶ Rustam knows, however, quite well, when he may drink and when he may not. Thus, for instance, during his journey to Alburz,

1 C. 1580. 2 C. 1769, at the end. 1770, beginning.

3 C. 2055. 4 cf. the characteristic of Rustam by Nölde-

ke, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil.* II, p. 174 foll. 5 464, 486 (خمر =

crapulence); C. 1527.

6 421, 618.

while looking for Kay Qubād he replies to the invitation of the pahlavāns to join them in their feast: "the Iranian land is full of enemies.....the Iranian throne is without a king, it behooves me not to drink"¹.

All the reign of Bāhram Gūr is full of exploits in the domain of Bacchus and Venus. He himself not only untiringly practises but also continually theorizes on the art of drinking wine. "A reasonable man", he says, "never trusts a drunken man in anything", or "whom wine makes sad will never know either the colour or the fragrance of wine", etc.² In an edifying discourse addressed to his noblemen he preaches that: "who is young, let him enjoy life, that he should not molest the souls of his subjects. In your old age do not indulge in drunkenness: it is not good for an old man to be a lover of wine"³. His wise sentence: "the one is happy who has no sorrows and is abstemious, still more so, if he be a ruler"⁴, sounds in his mouth like an arid theory. Basing himself on a prediction made by astrologers that he would live to the age of sixty or even more, he makes up his mind to enjoy life thoroughly for the first 20 years, to devote the second score to state-affairs and the administration of justice and the last 20 years to religion⁵. The period of bodily enjoyment, however, lasts in fact almost to his very death. His last deed of national purport was to bring from India ten thousand gypsy-musicians, the so-called Lūrī. They were actually brought to Persia for the population, who were grumbling at being compelled for want of means to drink wine "with empty hands and without music" whilst the rich drink crowned with flowers, to the sounds of music and of singing. That venture, however, did not meet with a particularly brilliant success.

1 292, 192 foll.

4 1583.

2 C. 1529.

5 C. 1582, at the end, and foll.

3 C. 1558

"Up to the present time", concludes Firdawsī that episode, "the Lūrīs are wandering about the world, poverty-stricken, associating with dogs and wolves and roaming about all the year long in the company of scoundrels."¹

The following edifying anecdote belongs also to the reign of Bahrām Gūr. It illustrates the consequences of wine-drinking and is related with an extraordinary, though somewhat crude, humour². One morning, says Firdawsī, Bahrām, surrounded by his courtiers, is drinking wine. There arrives a certain landowner who brings to the king a gift of a whole caravan of fruits and flowers. Bahrām, with kind words, invites him to take a seat amongst his courtiers. The guest, enraptured with the splendour of his surroundings, drinks the king's health emptying a huge goblet containing five *mann* of wine and exclaims: "I am a lover of wine and my name is Kabrāy,³ of such goblets I shall drink seven and then I will go home, sober, and nobody shall hear from me any drunken screams".⁴ And so he does, to the extreme astonishment of those present. Feeling on the way that the wine "inside him is getting warm", he leaves his servants and he directs his horse from the field to a hill where he alights and falls asleep in a shady place. In the meantime, a black raven swoops down from the summit and peeks out both eyes of the sleeper. The servants, on their arrival, find their master dead and "curse both the banquet and the goblet". Moved to his very soul by that accident Bahrām gives the order: "wine is prohibited for everybody in the world, for heroes, as for the common people". Thus a whole year passes, everybody observing the prohibition and the king himself, while

2 C. 1535 foll.

3 C. 1498 foll.

4 T. Macan reads

Kabrāy—C. 1499, v. 5 it is said to be a Pahlavi name.

5 Mohl (text) V, 576 v. 300 foll.

feasting and listening to legends of olden times, "does not drink any wine and is far from wine, there being neither the colour nor the odour of wine".¹ Things remain in that state, until a young cobbler conceives the idea of marrying a young girl of noble extraction. But, alas, he does not make any headway² to the great disappointment of his mother. At last, she remembers, however, having hidden a supply of wine and contrives to make her son partake of it for encouragement.³ After having quaffed seven or eight cups of wine the lad becomes at once strong⁴ and his adventure comes to a happy conclusion⁵. Meanwhile, a lion escapes from the king's menagerie. Our fellow, still intoxicated with the wine he had drunk, jumps on the back of the lion, without much ado, holding him by the ears.⁶ In explanation of that miracle it is mentioned that the lion, when he got loose, was not hungry. The head-keeper of the menagerie, who arrives at that moment with a snare and a chain, is amazed at the wonderful sight. "A cobbler riding on a lion's back, like on a donkey (sic) a valiant horseman"⁷ is his report to the sovereign. The latter, in perplexity, instructs his prime-minister to "go and see of what race this cobbler is; should he belong to the pahlavāns, then it does not matter, because valiance is becoming for the pahlavāns"⁸. Inquiries are made, his mother is taken to task. The talkative old woman relates, with most realistic details, the story of her son's marriage and concludes: "I gave him secretly three (sic) cups of

1 In the Calcutta edition this verse is omitted.

2 فرارش نیامد بدین کار سخت

3 مگر بشکلی امشب آن مهر تنگ * کلنگ از نمد کی کند کان سنگ

4 یامد در خانه سوراخ کرد 5 همانا بی و پوشتش سخت گشت

6 ز ناده هنوز آن پسر مست بود * بدریا ده انگشت او شسته بود

7 C. 1500 v. 14.

8 *Ibid.* v. 19.

wine, nobody in the world knew anything about it and then suddenly his cheeks became red and....¹. His grandfather was a cobbler, his father was a cobbler and beyond that handicraft his family did not reach. His valour is solely due to the three cups of wine. Who would have imagined that the king should want to know such things". The king began to laugh, saying: "this event must not be concealed", and, addressing the *mūbad*, he added: "henceforward wine is allowed, a drunkard is approved, who drinks sufficient to mount a lion in such a manner that the lion cannot throw him off, but not so much as that a black raven should peck out his eyes, when he is lying drunk on the road". Immediately the call is heard from the palace: "You, gold-girdled pahlavāns, drink wine everybody as much as he can, but for the consequences you will be responsible yourselves. Wine should be for you a guide to joy. Afterwards take care to sleep in such a way that your body should not suffer"².

A whole series of comparisons from the domain of wine are found in the *Shāhnāma*. Thus, for instance, Farīdūn's face is compared with wine sparkling in a ruby-cup.³ Siyāvush, when composing a diplomatic letter to Kay Kāus is said to "mix in his mind wine with milk"⁴. The lips of young girls "are full of wine scented with rose-water"⁵. Girls sing about Bahrām Gūr that: "wine seems to be flowing from his face, his hair smells of musk"⁶. By his side his bride Sapīnād, Shangil the Indian's daughter, is shining like wine in a cup of crystal"⁷. That yellow goblet called the sun"⁸. During a rain which comes after a long period of drought "the dew on roses was like wine in

1 نمند بر سر آورد و گشت استخوان

2 C. 1498-1501; Mohl V, 576-580. 3 62,7. 4 574, note 6

5 1074, 162. 6 C. 1505. 7 C. 1571. 8 C. 1581.

goblets".¹ Rustam says under the guise of a proverb: "if you pour out the wine, you cannot throw out its smell".² The *mūbads* blame Khusrow Parviz for having raised to the dignity of a queen his former mistress Shīrīn. Parviz justifies himself by means of an allegory: "a golden cup full of blood is brought into the assembly, at the sight of which all turn away in horror. Then the king orders to throw out the blood and, having thoroughly washed the cup, to fill it with wine, musk and rose-water, after which it shines like the sun. Such is Shīrīn".³

As to Firdawsī himself he regards wine as a true Persian full of joy of life and takes into consideration the new law of Muḥammad only for form's sake. Different variations on the theme of *carpe diem* and *nunc est bibendum* sound in his mouth too convincingly not to be sincere. "If you have a cup, ask for golden wine, and mind that there is no sin in the joy of the heart"⁴. "Now it is time to drink good wine because the odour of musk is coming from the mountain. The air is full of noise, the earth is full of throbbing; happy is one whose heart is full of joy from the effects of wine..."⁵ These words serve as an introduction to the wonderfully sweet description of spring: "What is the use of being anxious, what for to know the future⁶, it is not worth while to talk about it.....since death is lying in ambush for us like a wolf, let me have a large cup full of wine and a cypress-statured beloved, silver-bodied, well-behaved and sweet-tongued"⁷. "When the soul becomes covered with rust from the bitterness of a word (*i.e.* offence), old wine washes off the rust; when old age comes with stealthy steps upon a man, old wine makes him young. Under the influence of

1 C. 1591.

2 1132, note 1.

3 C. 2001 foll.

4 C. 1656 v. 10, cf. Mohl's translation VI, 190.

5 1630.

2372 foll.

6 Mohl V, 409 (C. 1426).

7 C. 1426.

wine the true character comes to light, wine is a key which opens a closed heart" (M o h l)...and so forth on the theme of *in vino veritas*¹. "Oh old man, when thy age reaches sixty and one, wine and cup and leisure are deprived of salt; when it is time to prepare oneself for death, wine is like a fur-coat during the month Day (winter); the body is frozen amongst sins, the soul has lost her path to heaven; many of the friends have remained behind, many of them are gone, and thou with a goblet as thy guide hast remained in the field"².

The end of the epic. The last king of the Sasanian dynasty Yazdigird III utterly defeated and flying before the invading Arab hordes perishes tragically at the hand of a hired murderer.

Old Persia is dead.

The poet is nearly eighty years old³. He is tired, disappointed, he has lost all confidence in men and life and from the depth of his soul there bursts a cry of bitter resentment against the treacherous destiny: "we ask for justice for Yazdigird, we cry for vengeance to the seven spheres!"

However,—brought to his senses, having understood the vanity and weakness of all human fears, reconciled with the idea that there is no truth on earth, that "this world will roll through thee and the time keeps account of every breath",⁴—Firdawsi exclaims: "Bring wine, there are not many days left! Thus it has been from times immemorial and nobody has escaped (death)"⁵.

1 1444, 3186 foll.

2 C. 1781.

3 C. 2095.

4 C. 2088.

5 C. 2089.

قصہ زرتشتیان ہندوستان

9

بیان آتش بہرام نوساری

QISSEH-I ZARTÛSHTIÂN-I HINDÛSTÂN

VA

BAYÂN-I ÂTASH BEHRÂM-I NAOSARI.

BY SHAMS-UL-ULAMA DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
KT., BA., PH.D., C.I.E.

(Continued from No. 17, p. 63.)

Gangaji Rao (Gaikwar) was in power at the time in Naosari. The laymen carried a complaint to him about the Bhagariâ Mobads. So, Gangaji Rao summoned the Bhagariâ Mobads before him. Desai Khurshedji represented their case and said: "The laymen are our clients (*murid*, disciples) and they have turned away from us at the asking of the Sanjana Mobads." Rao Gangaji, hearing both sides, asked the laymen to give to the Bhagariâs what was due to them (*haqq vâjbi*). In the assembly (*Majlas*, court) there were Hindu Desais also. Rao Gangaji decided that the laymen were the clients of the Bhagariâ priests. Desai Khurshed then requested, that the laymen may pass a writing that all their religious ceremonies, whether of the dead or of the living, shall be performed by the

Gangaji Rao
and the Parsees.
cc. 393-443.

Bhagariās, and that they were the clients of the Bhagariās. The Rao, thereupon, called the laymen again before him and asked them to pass a writing to the above effect. The laymen thereupon placed a writing to that effect in the hands of the Bhagariās. The document was duly signed and witnessed even by some Hindu Desais, who were present at the meeting.¹ The Bhagariās rejoiced and blessed Desai Khurshed, saying that Naosari became flourishing (gulzār) through him. The laymen also were pleased with this affair, as it caused quarrels to disappear. The Mobads and Behdins were reconciled, but the Sanjana priests, who wanted to perform the religious rites for the laymen, were disappointed.

Then Desai Khurshed, in consultation with the Bhagariā Mobads, asked the Sanjana priests to act as their forefathers did (according to the very first agreement). He said, that the religious ceremonies of the dead and the living, even in the families of the Sanjana priests, should be performed by the Bhagariās. The Sanjana priests

1 This writing is dated roz 26, mäh 3, Samvat 1791 (A.C. 1735). It appears from this document, that Gangaji Rao Gaikwar entrusted the whole case to a few leading Hindu gentlemen whose names are given in the document. They went into the merit of the case and saw old documents on the subject. They proposed certain terms, the chief of which were (a) that the Bhagariā priests may continue to perform the religious rites at the houses of their laymen who adhered to, and acknowledged, them and (b) that those Minochehr Homji priests, who had separated from their brother Bhagariā priests of Naosari, may perform, in the new Agiari founded for them by their Behdins, the funeral ceremonies of their laymen, but not the ceremonies for the living, such as those of marriage, which shall be performed by the Bhagariā priests. This document was passed by Patel Dadajee Behramjee and other laymen of Naosari to Dastur Jamshedji Rustomjee Meherji Rana, Desai Khurshedji Tehmulji and other Bhagariā priests (*Vide Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 31.)

wanted to see the writing (navisht khān). The Bhagariās then immediately produced the document. The Sanjana priests, on seeing it, accepted this arrangement and, at first, acted accordingly.

Some time passed over this peaceful state of affairs, and then, Satan again worked mischief. The

The Sanjanas
lodged a complaint
before Damaji. cc.
443-493.

Sanjanas turned away from the proper path and lodged a complaint in this matter

before the Subhedar, Damaji Rao (داماजी)

by name, at Sūngar (سونگر). They complained that they ought not to be asked to abstain from performing ceremonies of their own families. The Bhagariās went with Desai Khurshed to defend themselves. Damaji Rao heard both sides and then said to the Sanjana priests, that, according to the arrangement with their ancestors, their limit (of ecclesiastical work) was confined to Sanjan, and that, therefore, they should not perform any religious services (even those of their families) at Naosari.¹ The Sanjanas were displeased at this ruling and wanted his (Damaji Rao's) permission (hukam) to depart from Naosari with their Sacred Fire to the boundaries (sarhad) of Sanjan. Thereupon, Damaji Rao asked Desai Khurshed, as to what he had to say to that proposal of the Sanjana priests. Desai Khurshed said, that, if they wanted to remain at Naosari, they must act as their forefathers did and let the Bhagariā priests perform the religious ceremonies of the dead and the living of their families, but, if they did not agree to do so, they may go to their own boundary district. The Sanjanas

1 The document containing the decision of Damaji Rao is dated 13 Bhādarvā 1796 (i.e., 1740 A.C.). I have given a photo-litho facsimile of this document in my "A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsees and their dates". It is the document No. IV there. I have given there also my translation of the document. (*vide* p. 81, n. 1).

refused to remain at Naosari on the above conditions and asked permission (parvaneh) to go. It was given to them.¹ All then returned from Sângar to Naosari.

The Sanjana priests left Naosari on roz Jamyâd, mâh Aspandâd, year Yazdagardi 1109 (1741

The Sanjanas
leave for Bulsar.
cc. 493-507.

A.C.) and went to Bulsar, where they remained for 2 or 3 years (dô sê sâl).

They then went with the Sacred Fire to Udvârâ (اودوارہ). Raja Durje Sang² (درجہ سنگ) helped them. On their departure, the quarrel between the Behdins and Mobads at Naosari disappeared.

1 The parvaneh is dated Samvat 1797 Aso Sudi 7, i.e., 1741 A.C. *Vide Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 34, n. 4.

2 The *Parsi Prakash* (Vol. I, p. 35) gives the date of the removal of the Sacred Fire to Udvârâ as 28th October 1742. Mr. Ramsay, in an article in the *Indian Antiquary* of 5th July 1872 (Vol. I, p. 213), thus speaks on this subject, on the authority of what he had personally heard from the Dastur of Udvârâ: "After a sojourn of two years at Bulsar, the priests had an interview with the Raja of Mandvi, Durjansinghji, then residing in his fort at Pardi. Protection was implored and promised and a choice given of certain villages on the sea coast for a residence. At Udvârâ was found a small band of Parsis and a Tower of Silence and here the fugitives fixed their choice of a resting place. A *sanad* was given conferring certain privileges and immunities." This is stated to have been in the Samvat year 1799 (A.D. 1742). For the different persons, who provided a house for the Sacred Fire, *vide Parsi Prakash*, Vol. I, p. 35, n. 5. It is said that during its stay at Naosari, this Sacred Fire had to be removed once to Surat, to preserve it from being desecrated at the hands of the Pindari plunderers. That was in 1733 A.C. (*Parsi Prakash* I, p. 30). It was brought back to Naosari in 1736 (*ibid.* p. 33). It is said that the new Sacred Fire, latterly founded at Naosari, also had to be similarly removed to Surat in 1776 (*ibid.* p. 50).

V

A FREE VERSION OF THE QISSEH-I
ATASH VARHARÂM-I NAOSARI.¹

One day, the Rapithwan Jashan day (roz 3, mâh 1), there met at the Dar-i Meher, the priests and laymen of Naosari. Desai Khurshed² also was present. At the conclusion of the Jashan ceremony, the people who had assembled said to Desai Khurshed:—"We must do this work: In your time we must make (*i.e.*, found, dar daurat kunîm, c. 517), an Atash Varharam (Atash Behram). By that work, your name will be remembered for ever. It is the duty of the faithful to found a fire in their city". The good-natured leader, Khurshed, said in reply: "I also pray for the same work, day and night. If you are in favour of such a work, I am ready." Being pleased with this reply, they all recited Tandarusti³ that we found (sâzîm) Atash Behram.

1 In giving my summary of the contents of this part, I will mostly draw from what I have said in my article, entitled "Qisseh-i Atash Behrâm-i-Naosârî", in the issue of *Zartosthi* (જર્તોસ્તી) of Meher 1278 Yazdehcardi (Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 176-184).

2 Later on, the Qisseh-i gives Tehmûr (طهمور) as the name of his father (c. 545) and Minocheher as that of his son (c. 549) who was said to be very religious.

3 It was, and still is, a custom, that, when a good work is intended to be done, the people assembled at a meeting where it is announced, recite a Tandarusti, praying for God's blessing upon the whole Anjuman if it is the whole Anjuman's affair or upon a particular Anjuman if it is his individual work or charity. Here, neither the Anjuman's name nor an individual name is mentioned, but the verb is in the plural number, mâ "sâzîm" (ما سازیم, c. 525), *i.e.*, we prepare the Atash Behram.

Four Dasturs offered their services and produced

The Dasturs consult Pahlavi (Uzvaresh) books for consecrating a new Atash Behram. cc. 526-51.

various books to settle the course of ceremonies for consecrating the Atash Behram. They were the following:

- (1) Dasturân Dastur Sohrab, who was descended from Dastur Mahyâr who had gone to Shah Akbar. He produced from his own library, Pazend and Pahlavi writings for consultation.
- (2) Dastur Burzo, son of Darab. He produced, out of many Mss., one which was in Persian handwriting.
- (3) Dastur Jamshed Jamasp. (4) Dastur Manock, son of Jamshed.

These four Dasturs and other learned Mobads met together, and, consulting Pahlavi treatises on the subject, represented to Desai Khorshed what ceremonies were required to prepare and consecrate the Sacred Fire of an Atash Behram. They specially showed to him a manuscript (نسخه)¹ which was from Persia².

Desai Khorshed then proposed to all Dasturs and

Informing other Parsee centres and asking for co-operation and help. The centre of Surat. cc. 552-580.

Mobads that various Parsi centres may be informed of their resolve to found an Atash Behram. So, letters were written to various centres. One was written to Surat, where several well-known persons lived.

One such person was Noshirwan, son of Bahman, son of Seth Rustam Manock. He was very kind to his co-religionists.

1 Nuskheh is from Pahlavi Nusk.

2 It seems that the Ms., which the Dasturs produced as having come from Persia (c. 542), is the same as that referred to above, as having been produced by Dastur Burjo Darab Pahlân and as written in Persian (khat-i Fars, c. 534). It was held to be the most important for the purpose. Unfortunately, the name of the treatise is not given. But I think that it is the same as referred to later on (c. 595), as being in the hand of Darab, who, as I have said later on, was Dastur Darab Hormuzdyâr.

and had risen to high dignity, so much so, that "out of all the great men that had come to India from Irân, there was none like him." The next great man at Surat, was Sohrab, who also was descended from Rustam (Manock). The third great man at Surat was Darab whose surname also is given as Sett. The fourth leading man of Surat, was Minocheher, son of Khurshid. He also was known as Sett. All these four became glad at the news of an Atash Behram being founded, and wrote a reply, saying: "We will send whatever expense is necessary (mar ân khorchî kê bâyard ma ferestand, c. 579). We are always desirous that such a work be done in Naosari."

Letters, similar to those sent to Surat, were sent to

Letters to other
centres. Action
taken, cc. 581-93.

the Parsees of Broach (Bharuch), Aoklesar (Anklesar), Kambâyat (Cambay), Goudarah (Goudavreh) people (Jamâa) and Mumbâi (Bombay). They all were pleased and wrote sympathetic encouraging replies. These replies were read in the Dar-i Meher¹. All were pleased at the encouraging replies. Then Desai Khurshed requested the great Dastur Sohrab to hasten the work of preparing the Sacred Fire of Atash-Behram.

The Dasturs looked into the above mentioned well-known (sâmi) books which were in Pazend, Persian and Pahlavi. They mostly rested upon the authority of a manuscript belonging to Dastur Darab. One day, they all, the old and the young, met together. Among them, there was

Dastur Sohrab, reading, in a meeting of priests, an account of the procedure of Consecration. cc. 594-602.

1 The Dar-i Meher, *i.e.*, the Porte or Poreh of Meher, is a temple where religious ceremonies are performed. It also contains fire, but that fire need not be the Sacred Fire of the Atash Behram or Adaran. In Naosari, the Dar-i Meher and Atash Behram are in two separate buildings, but in Bombay they are located in the same building.

also present Desai Jivan, son of Manock. There, Dastur Sohrab read some particulars about the preparation of the Sacred Fire of Atash Behram. They were told that sixteen fires of different kinds, *i.e.*, from places of work of different kinds of tradesmen, were required.

The first fire is the fire that burnt the corpse of a non-Zoroastrian (*murdeh darvand*). Two persons were to go with *paiwand*¹ to pick up the fire. Then two priests observing *khub*² may hold a *paiwand* and dig, in an enclosed place, nine separate pits. The measure of each pit is one span (*i.e.*, 9 inches) in length and breadth. They may then bring the fire which burnt a corpse to that place and put it in the first pit. They may take up (*bar darad*) a fire from it and let the original fire get cool (*sard*)³, *i.e.*, extinguished. This process is to be continued over all the nine pits. Then, when, after nine purifications, the fire is produced in the ninth pit, it is not allowed to be cool, but is kept burning with fragrant fuel (*bui-i khush*). Then, it may be taken to

1 *Paiwand* is the holding of a piece of cloth or cotton tape between themselves, by two persons, signifying, that they are in close contact or touch with each other (*Vide* my Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis, pp. 55-56).

2 *Khub* is a liturgical qualification, acquired by a priest, by performing the Yagna ceremony (*Ibid.* p. 147).

3 The description of the process of consecrating the polluted fire from the burning ground is not quite clear in its details as given here, because, as said by the author, it is very brief. The ceremony of founding a new Atash Behram consists of seven processes in all, *viz.*, (1) Collection of 16 fires, (2) their Purification, (3) their Consecration, (4) Union of the 16 consecrated fires, (5) Consecration of the united sacred fire, (6) Consecration of the temple itself, and (7) Enthroning the united fire. For all the processes in detail, *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 211-34.

the Dar-i Meher for the performance of the Yaçna (yashtan) over it. Then (two) Mobads, possessing 15 qualifications¹, may consecrate the fire by reciting 71 yasnas over it. Then they may further recite three Vendîdads and Yasna in honour of Ahura Mazda. Then, for one month from the 1st day Ahuramazd to the 30th day Anaran (Aniran) Vendîdads may be recited over the fire at night. Thus, the first fire is properly consecrated and the priest must go before it with *panâm* (padân) over his face.

The second fire to be consecrated is that from the Consecration of house of a dyer (rangriz), and the third, the other Fires. from a public bath (hamâm).² In cc. 624-31. all, 16 fires are to be collected and con-

1 The 15 qualifications of a good priest are referred to in various writings. *Vide* West, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 47, pp. 167-70. Zadsparam Ch. XXIV. For the Pahlavi Text, *vide* Zadsparam, edited by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria (in the Press), pp. 94-98. Out of the fifteen, the Zadsparam speaks of five as *hatm* (هاتم), i.e., dispositions or characteristics and of ten as *andarz* (آندرز), i.e., admonitions. The Rivâyats also speak of some physical qualifications and disqualifications. *Vide* Ervad Manockji R. Unvala's litho edition of Darab Hormuzdyar's Rivâyât with my Introduction, Vol. II, pp. 1-19.

2 Our author does not name all. The list differs a little according to different writers. The hamâm or a public-bath fire, mentioned by our author, is not included in the list of others. The list, as given in the Vendidad (Chap. VIII), must be taken as the principal authoritative one, but, for some reason or another, in later accounts, the lists vary. The late Dastur Edulji Minocheherji Jamaspasana said that "in the case of all the six Atash Behrams founded and consecrated in Bombay and elsewhere, there has not been any similarity in the matter of process." (*Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", page 211 n.). For the different lists, *vide* (a) Kavasji Edalji Kanga's list in his Vendidad, 3rd Ed. of 1894, p. 186, (b) Dastur Edalji Sohrabji Meherji Rana's list in the "Tamâm Avesta ni Ketâb" published by Mr. Dadabhai Cawasji, Vol. II, pp. 213-14, (c) the list of the Ithoter Rivâyât published in 1846,

separated. They are referred to in the 8th Chapter (kardeh) of the Vendidad¹.

When Dastur Sohrab finished reading the account, as to how the Atash Behram was to be consecrated, Desai Khurshed asked Dastur Sohrab to be the leader in the work and make his selection of the priests required for the purpose. Two hundred priests offered their services to Dastur Sohrab. Out of them, one hundred were selected. They knew well the Avesta. They also knew Shâyast va nâ Shâyast, i.e., what (rules and regulations) were to be observed and what not. Our author expresses his extreme pleasure, and praises Desai Khurshed much for bringing about the fulfilment of the great purpose of founding an Atash Behram.

The priests had begun (sharu kardeh, c. 664) their work on roz Hormazd, mäh Tir, 1134² Yezdezdardi. In the end, all the 100 priests come to the Dar-i

(ફીન બેહ માજ્દીઅશનીની હકતાદો હરાત પુરશેશ પારોબ ઈઆને ઈહોતેર રેવાયત સવાલ જવાબ, ૫૧૦ ૭ થી ૨૩). This Rivâyat from Persia, is in reply to 78 questions from Behdin Dhanjishaw and other Behdins and Dasturs of Surat. The questions and replies were collected in one treatise in Persian by Folâd bin Rustam. Among the Surat signatories to the questions, we find the names of Dastur Darab Sohrab, the teacher of Anquetil, Dastur Kaus Najumi, Dastur Kaus Rustam Sanjana, and Rustam Manock (pp. 4-5). This Rivâyat is important because the writers thought of founding an Atash Behram in Surat. The questioners say that they had already with them a nusk or written MS. on the subject of preparing an Atash Behram. They seem to ask particulars afresh. (d) The list as given in my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," page 212.

1 Vendidad VIII, 81-96.

2 15th January 1765.

Meher. They all were well dressed (lebās i khûb pûshid, c. 667) and they put on panām (padân) on their faces. They took the selected fires to the Dar-i Meher and recited Yazashna over them, in a loud voice (âvâz-i buland). The recital of the Avesta drove away the divs to Hell and pleased the Ameshaspands. The priests, who were engaged in consecration, did not go to their houses but remained in the Dar-i Meher. They recited the Yazashna and Vendidad over the 16 fires. When all the fires were consecrated, they were united on an *âdusht*.¹ This united consecrated fire became the Atash Behram and they placed fragrant fuel over it. God has said to friends² to take care of fire every where. It is better to place fuel over it at midnight.

May God keep joyful (shādab) Dastur Sohrab who did all that was requisite, as enjoined in books and (especially) as enjoined by God in the 8th kardeh (*i.e.*, chapter of the Vendidad). If you will read the Zend (commentary) of the Vendidad, you will understand all the secrets (asrâr) about Fire. To all were given their wages or fees (môzd). He gave them double wages (dugāneh mozd dadeh) and all the priests were pleased with it. They all blessed Khurshid. During those unfortunate³ times, no body had done such work. All Behdins (laymen) had brought fires from all workshops (kâr-khanahā) of the Jud-dins (aliens, non-Zoroastrians).

According to the Vendidad, the meritoriousness of

1 It is the stone slab upon which the fire-vase stands. The word is originally Pahlavi *Âtashtô*, from *âdash* and *stâ* to stand. *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 273-274.

2 Laftan? Laft لفت, a friend.

3 I think it is better to read the word as *avârun* "unfortunate." I have wrongly separated it and misread it in the text.

picking up a fire which burns a corpse is like that of setting in, in their proper places, (dar neshâni) 1000 (ordinary) fires. Similarly, the meritoriousness in the case of the second fire, *viz.*, that of the workshop of a dyer, is equal to that of placing in its proper place (neshâyandeh ba dargâh) 1000 ordinary fires. Similarly, in the case of the fire of a hamâm (public bath), it is equal to that of setting (in dadgâh) 500 ordinary fires.

When the whole work of Atash Behram came to be finished, Dastur Sohrab informed Desai Enthroning the Sacred Fire. cc. Khurshed of it. Sardar Khurshed said 708-740. in reply:—"O wise Dastur! May you live long. I have got a proper dome (gunbad) prepared for the kingly Atashbehrâm. I will place the Atash Behram there. My desire will be fulfilled in that place. It was my desire that I see its (*i.e.*, of the Sacred Fire of Atash Behram) face (didâr) and that I pick up all joy from its face (rukhsâr)." Dastur Sohrab was much pleased to hear that. On roz Sarosh and month Ardi-behesht, 1135 Yezdezardi¹, the Atash Behram was enthroned on a throne of stone.

This event took place in the time of Rao Kerdarji who was kind to his subjects and just. The first bui² ceremony over the Sacred Fire after the enthronement was performed by the Dastur (Dastur Sohrab). Then all the Dasturs and Mobads and Behedins joined in prayers. When the good news of the consecration of the Atash Behram reached different Parsee centres, people from there went to Naosari to pay their homage to the Sacred Fire. People from Surat, Broach and Anklesar went there with

¹ 2nd December 1765.

² For this ceremony of bui (*i.e.*, giving fragrant fuel), *vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 230-39.

their offerings (hadiyeh). All blessed Desai Khurshid who enthroned (nishânid) the Atash Behram.

The author then dwells upon the advantages of having Fire-temples. Their presence protects the people of their cities from harms from the evil-minded oppressors, thieves and robbers. Were it not for the good fortune arising from the presence in their midst of Fire-temples, people could not travel from city to city, free from the grasp of robbers and from the injustice of rulers. Zoroaster had asked King Gushtasp to found Fire-temples in all cities. Thereby prosperity and freedom from oppression will result to the people.

The author then offers his homage to God and gives, what he himself calls, a Munâjat, wherein he expresses all humility and prays for righteousness and joy.

The author concludes with, what we may term, a colophon. He gives his place as Naosari and his name, letter per letter, as Shapur.

His father was Manock, the son of Behram, who has taken his place in paradise for the purpose of rest (behr-i ârâm). He gives his profession as that of a Mobad. He says, that he was descended from Dastur Neryôsang Dhaval.

(To be continued.)

<i>manā</i>	<i>pītā</i>	<i>Vishtāspa</i>	<i>Vishtāspahyā</i>
मम	पिता	विश्तास्पः	विश्तास्पस्य

·मम॑ १. ·मम॑ ·पिता॑ ·विश्तास्पः॑ ·विश्तास्पस्य॑

my father (was) Vishtāspa, Vishtāspa's

<i>pītā</i>	<i>Arshāma,</i>	<i>Arshāmahyā</i>	<i>pītā</i>
पिता	अर्शामः	अर्शामस्य	पिता

·मम॑ ·पिता॑ ·अर्शामः॑ ·अर्शामस्य॑ ·पिता॑

father (was) Arshām, Arshām's father

<i>Ariyāramna,</i>	<i>Ariyāramnahyā</i>	<i>pītā</i>
अर्यारमनः	अर्यारमनस्य	पिता

·पिता॑ ·अर्यारमनः॑ ·अर्यारमनस्य॑ ·पिता॑

(was) Ariyaramna, Ariyaramna's father

<i>Chishpish,</i>	<i>Chishpāish</i>	<i>pītā</i>	<i>Hakhāmanish</i>
चिश्पिः	चिश्पेः	पिता	हखामनिः

·पिता॑ ·चिश्पिः॑ ·चिश्पेः॑ ·पिता॑ ·हखामनिः॑

(was) Chishpish, Chishpi's father (was) Hakhāmani

३. *Thātiy*² etc. *Avahyarādiy* *vayam* *Hakhāmanishiyā*

अस्मात्-हि वयं हखामनिशियाः

३. ·हखामनिशियाः॑ ·वयम्॑ ·अस्मात्-हि॑

For this reason we Hakhāmainishiya

1 Gathic मम. 2 The expression *Thātiy etc.* occurs in the beginning of every para.

3 6/1 of मम; म = १, (Persian). I take it as म (म) ममम. P. suggests ममम to be rendered as "through the giving of this."

<i>paruvam</i>	<i>Khshāyathiyā</i>	<i>aha(n);</i>	<i>adam</i>
पूर्वम्	क्षत्रियाः	आसन् ;	अहं
𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	𐬕𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀
formerly	Kings	were ;	I (am)

<i>navama(h); IX duvitāparanam¹</i>	<i>vayam Khshāyathiyā</i>
नवमः ; ९	द्वितापर्णम् वयं क्षत्रियाः
𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀
ninth ; 9	in two lines ² we Kings

amahy.

स्मसि.

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀.

were (lit. are).

5. <i>Thātiy etc.</i>	<i>vashnā</i>	<i>Ahuramazdāha(h)</i>
	वासना	अहुरमज्दस्य
	𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀	𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀 𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀
	By the grace	of Ahuramazd

1 Paul Horn takes it as equivalent to Lat. *diuturnus* = of old. In Pers. Inscriptions, Tolman reads *dūvitātaranam* = "individually". In the *Lexicon*, he reads *duvitāparanam*, and takes it to mean "long aforetime". Bartholomae rendered it as "one after another", "in succession". The Av. form is suggested by Punegar. 2 The nine kings in two lines are thus given by Prof. Ernst Herzfeld in the Dr. J. J. Modi Memorial Vol., p 187 :

1 Chahishpish, great king, king of Anzân

2 Cyrus I, great king	6 Ariyarāmna, king
3 Cambysis I "	7 Arshāma
4 Cyrus II "	8 Vishtāspa
5 Cambysis II "	9 Darius, great king

3 See Yasna 46-19, 50-11. In Sk. "(it was) the desire of Ahuramazda" — वासना being 1/1 otherwise वशेन 3/1.

frāharavam dahyāva(h) XXIII.

(प्र)सर्वम् दस्यवः २३

۲۳ ویدک سوسائٹی. (ایف-ایس-ایچ)۔

In all countries 23.

7. *Thāṭiya etc. Imā dahyāva(h) tyā manā patiyāisha(n)*
(this sentence is repeated here)

[illegible]

1 Punegar renders thus (7/1) ۷۱۱۱۱۱۱۱. 2 Cf. Pers. 8 Pers. ۸

hachā *Paishiyā(h)uvādāyā.* *Arakadrish*
 सचा पैशियाहुवादया अरकद्रिः
 from Paishiyāhuvādā. (There is) Arakadri

nāma(n) *Kaufa(h);* *hachā* *avadasha(h)*
 नाम्ना कूपकः सचा अतः
 named mountain; from there

Viyakhmahya *māhyā* 14 *rauchabish*
 वियखनस्य मासस्य १४ रुचामिः (रुमिः)
 In Viyakhna month with 14 days

thakatā *āha(h),* *yadiy* *udapatatā.* *Haw*
 सक्ता(मिः) आस यदि उदपतत् असौ
 completing (it) was, when he revolted. He

1 Fam. name of Pasārgada, according to Justi. 2 Rock. 3 Cf. 4 or 5 *روزن* रुच, रोचिस्. 6 सक्तामिः "attached," "completed." Av. adj. "stretched as a bow" (Kanga's Diet. p 280), here used as a noun, meaning "stretching". In his Lexicon (p. 95) Tolman changing his previous opinion and the general translation as loc. sg. "In completed course", thus translates:—"In the month of...(so many) days were completing their course". Bartholomae, changing his opinion, takes *thakatā* as nom. pl. and *thakatam* as nom. sg. and as adjectival predicates. See Paul Horn's note p. 289 "Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies". Punegar takes the root to be *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀* "to arrange", "to appoint", "to fix"—"It was fixed up by the 14th day of the month". So Av. *𐬔𐬀𐬭𐬀*.

Kārahyā avathā adurujiya(h), adam Bardiya(h)

कारस्य एवं अथ अदुह्यत् अहं बर्दियः

·𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹· ·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹· ·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹· ·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

the army thus deceived, I Bardiya

amiy hya(h) Kurush puthra(h), Ka(n)bujiyahyā

अस्मि यः कुरुः पुत्रः कंबुजियस्य

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹· ·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹· ·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹· ·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

am, who (am) Kuru's son, Kambujiya's

brātā.

Pasāva(h)

kāra(h)

haruva(h)

भ्राता

पश्चा वा

कारः

सर्वः

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

brother.

Afterwards

the army

all

hamitriyā(h)

abava(h)

hachā

Ka(n)bujiyā(h),

अमैत्रेयः

अभवत्

सचा

कंबुजियेन

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

inimical

became

with

Kambujiya,

abiy

avam

ashiyava(n),

utā

अभि

एनं

अच्यवन्

उत

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

·𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹·

(and) to

him

they went

and

1 There is no Av. word for this. Punegar suggests *𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹*, and would prefer *𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹* (neuter). 2 In Av. for the word "enemy" we have *𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹* and *𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹*. The form *𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹* is not available. The form *𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎹* may be coined.

$abava(h)$

अभवत्

۱. (سے کھانسی) (سے کھانسی) ۲. (سے کھانسی) (سے کھانسی)

became.

have

असौ

• **مقدمه**

he

अग्रभयत्

۸. مکتبہ دارالعلوم دیوبند

seized.

(*kāram*)

कारण

5m 39.

arm.y

Athrina(h)

आत्रिणः

ಮುಖ್ಯಮಂತ್ರಿ

Ātrina

 $m\bar{a}m.$

मां

६५६.

me

1 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀 (p.) 2 With augment 𐬀; see Kanga's Gr. p. 376. Also 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀. 3 See Kanga's Dic. p. 167. 4 1/1 Imperfect. For Avestan form see Kanga's Dic. p. 92 and Gr. p. 248. 5 Pass. Imperf. 3/1. 6 Pahl. 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀, Pers. 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬀

Adamshim

अहं तं

avājanam.

अवाहनम्

1. 66. 66. 66.

him I

66. 66. 66. 66.

slew.

18. *Thātiy' etc.,**Pasāva(h)**adam*

पश्चा वा

अहं

66. 66. 66. 66.

Afterwards

66. 66.

I

Bābirum

बाबिरं

ashiyavam

अन्यवम्

abiy

अभि

avam

एनं

66. 66. 66. 66.

to Babylon

66. 66. 66. 66.

went

66. 66. 66. 66.

against

66. 66.

that

Nadi(n)tabairam,

नदिन्तबैरं,

hya(h)

यः

Nabuk(u)drachara(h)

नबुकुद्रचरः

66. 66. 66. 66.

Nidintu-Bel,

66. 66.

who

66. 66. 66. 66.

Nebuchadnezzar

*agaubatā.*अगोपयत्,²*Kāra(h)*

कारः

hya(h)

यः

66. 66. 66. 66.

called (himself).

66. 66.

The army⁴

66. 66.

which (was)

Nadi(n)tabairahyā

नदिन्तबैरस्य

Tigrām

तिग्रां

adāraya(h)

अधारयत्

66. 66. 66. 66.

of Nidintu-Bel

66. 66. 66. 66.

the Tigris

66. 66. 66. 66.

held,

1 Or better 66. 66. on the analogy of 66. 66. Kanga's Gr. p. 141. 2 Imperf. 3/1 of 66. to speak 10 cl. It may also be of 1st cl. 3 Causal of 66. Punegar suggests 66. 66. 4 Here Tolman also translates *Kāra* as "army". 5 Imperf. 3/1 of 66. See Kanga's Dic. p. 247.

<i>avadā</i>	<i>a(h)ishtatā</i>	<i>utā</i>
अवत	अतिष्ठत	उत
• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤	¹ 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	• 𐎠𐎡𐎢
There	he stood (i.e. halted),	and
<i>abish</i>	<i>nāviyā</i> ²	<i>āha(h).</i>
अभितं	नाविकः	आस
• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	³ 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	• 𐎠𐎡𐎢
nearby him	a squadron of navigators	was.
<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>adam Kāram</i>	<i>maskā(h)uvā</i> ⁴
पश्वा वा	अहं वारं	मशकेषु
• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨(?)
Then	I	the army on floats of skins
<i>avākanam.</i>	<i>Aniyam</i>	(u) <i>shabārim,</i>
अवाकरवम्	अन्यं	उषभरं
• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨	• 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨
placed.	One (part)	on camels

1 Imperf. 3/1 of 𐎠𐎡𐎢. See Kanga's Dic. p. 536 L 30.

2 Regarded as nom. f. from *nāv*, "ship." Foy regards it as loc. sing. The word means "flotilla." 3 P. Navigator = 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨, Yt. 5-61, Kanga's Eng. Av. Dict. 4 The reading "ma...kā(h)uvā" adopted by Paul Horn and *makāuvā* by Tolman was uncertain. Paul Horn rendered the passage thus:—"I dug down (i.e. I divided) my army in two parts (?)" He was doubtful. In the Lexicon Tolman says that the reading *maskāuvā* *avākanam* is confirmed. It is in Persian a loan word (New Persian *mask*) and has reference to the manner of crossing the river, which has been in vogue from early times to the present day, i.e. on inflated skins or a raft or bridge supported by such skins (Tolman's Lexicon, p. 118). 5 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨 (P).

COLUMN II.

1. <i>Thātiy etc.</i> ,	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>Nadi(n)tabairā(h)</i>	
	पश्चा वा	नदिन्तवैरः	
	Then		Nidintu-Bel
<i>hadā</i>	<i>kamnaibish</i>	<i>asbāribish</i>	<i>abiy</i>
सह	कतिभिः	अश्वपालैः (अश्ववहैः)	अभि
with	a few	horsemen	to
<i>Bābirum</i>	<i>ashiyava(h).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>adam</i>
बाबिरं	अच्यवत्	पश्चा वा	अहं
Babylon	went.	Afterwards	I
<i>Bābirum</i>	<i>ashiyavam.</i>	<i>Vashnā</i>	
बाबिरं	अच्यवम्,	वासना	
to Babylon	went.	By the grace	
<i>A(h)uramazdāha(h)</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>Bābirum</i>	
अहुर्मैज्दस्य	उत	बाबिरं	
of Ahuramazda	even	Babylon	
<i>agrabāyam,</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>avam</i>	
अग्रमयम्	उत	एनं	
I seized	and	that	

1 See I-18. 2 No such compound exists in extant

Avesta. P. suggests . . . 3 Or . . . 4 Cf. I-18.

5 See . . . Kanga's Dic. p. 167.

<i>Parthava(h),</i> Parthia,	<i>Margush,</i> Margiana,	<i>Thatagush,</i> Sattagydia,	<i>Saka(h).</i> Scythia.
3. <i>Thātiya etc.,</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>martiya(h)</i>	<i>Martiya(h)</i>
	۱	मर्त्यः	मर्त्यः
	۱	مارتيا	مارتيا
	One	man	Martiya
<i>nāma(n)</i> नाम्ना	<i>Chi(n)chikhrāish</i> चिचिखरे:	<i>puthra(h);</i> पुत्रः	
(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)
by name	(was) Chinchikhri's	son;	
<i>Kuganakā</i> कुगानका	<i>nāma(n)</i> नाम्ना	<i>vardanam</i> वर्धनं ¹	<i>Pārsaiy</i> पारसे
(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)
Kugankā	named	city (there is)	in Pārsa.
<i>Avadā</i> अवतः ²	<i>adāraya(h).</i> अधारयत्	<i>Haw</i> असौ	<i>udapatatā</i> उदपतत्
(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)
There	he held (office) ⁴ (or strong position)	He	revolted
<i>(H)wjaīy;</i> हुव्जे,	<i>Kārahīyā</i> कारह्य	<i>avathā</i> एवं अथ	<i>athaha(h).</i> अशासत्
(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)
in Susiana;	the army	thus	he told:
<i>adam</i> अहं	<i>Imanish</i> इमनि:	<i>amiy</i> अस्मि	<i>(H)wjaīy khshāyathiya(h)</i> क्षत्रियः
(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)	(.س) (س) (س)
I	Imani	am,	in Susiana King.

1 See I-19 (P.)

2 See I-18. 3 Ys. 31-7.

4 Dwelt (Tolman).

<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>upā</i>	<i>mām</i>	<i>āha(h)</i>
यः	उप	मां	आस
· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺
which	with	me	was,

<i>hau</i>	<i>kamnam</i>	<i>āha(h).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>
असौ	कतिपयः	आस	पश्चा वा
· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	¹ · 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺
the same	small	was.	Afterwards

<i>adam</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>frāishayam.</i>
अहं	कारं	प्रेष्यम्
· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	² · 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺
I	an army	sent.

<i>Vidarna(h)</i>	<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>Pārsa(h)</i>	<i>manā</i>
विदर्णः	नाम्ना	पार्सः	मम
· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺
Vidarna (Hydarnes)	named	Persian	(was) my

<i>ba(n)daka(h),</i>	<i>avamshām</i>	<i>mathishtam</i>
बद्धकः	एनं	महिष्टं
³ · 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺 or · 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺
subject	out of them, this	great (=leader)

<i>akunavam.</i>	<i>Avathāshām</i>	<i>athaham:</i>
अकुरवम्	एवं अथ तेषां	अशासम्:
· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺	· 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺
I made.	Thus to them	I said:

1 The adjective should be 1/1 or this word may be an adverb. Possibly neuter 1/1 (P.). 2 1/1 imperf. of 𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀾𑀢𑀺 4th cl. (See Kanga's Dic. p. 92 and Gr. p. 203). 3 See I-7.

<i>Paraitā,</i> प्रेत ¹	<i>avam</i> तं	<i>kāram</i> कारं	<i>tyam</i> त्यं
𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎡𐎹
"Go forth (and)	that	army	which (is)
<i>Mādam</i> मादं	<i>jatā</i> हत	<i>hya(h)</i> यः	<i>manā</i> मम
𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡
Median	(you) smite;	which (army)	mine
<i>naiy</i> नैव		<i>gaubataiy.</i> गोपयति	
𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡		𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	
(does) not	call (= does not call itself mine.)"		
<i>Pasāva(h)</i> पश्चा वा	<i>hauv</i> असौ	<i>Vidarna(h)</i> विदर्णः	<i>hadā</i> सह
𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡
Afterwards	that	Vidarna	with army
<i>ashiyava(h).</i> अच्यवत्	<i>Yathā</i> यथा	<i>Mādam</i> मादं	<i>parārasa(h),</i> प्राषित् ⁴
𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡
went.	When	to Media	he came,
<i>Mārush</i> मारुः	<i>nāma(n)</i> नाम्ना	<i>vardānam</i> वर्धनं	<i>Mādaiy.</i> मादे
𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡	𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡
Māru	named	city (there is)	in Media,

1 (P.) 2/3 Imperative of 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡. See Kanga's Gr. p. 188 and Dic. p. 87. 2 2/3 Imper. of 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 Cf. 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 1/1 and 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 3/1 Imper. 3 See I-18. 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 (P.). 4 3/1 of 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 (P.) Aorist of 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 (cf. 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 Kanga's Gr. p. 243). See I-18. Persian اميد is nearer the Achæmenian root. 5 See I-19 𐎡𐎡𐎡𐎡 (P.) 6 See I-18.

7. *Thātiya etc.,**Pasāva(h)**Dādarshis*

पश्चा वा

दादर्षिः

.سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل
 .سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل

Afterwards

Dādarshi

*nāma(n)**Arminiya(h)**manā**ba(n)daka(h),*

नाम्ना

अर्मिनियः

मम

बद्धकः

.سلاسل

.سلاسل-سلاسل

.سلاسل

.سلاسل-سلاسل¹

named

Arminian (who was)

my

slave (or subject)

*avam**adam**frāishayam**Arminam,*

एनं

अहं

प्रेष्यम्

अर्मिनं,

.سلاسل

.سلاسل

.سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل²

.سلاسل-سلاسل

him

I

sent

to Armenia,

*avathāshaiy**athaham : Paraidiy,*

एवं अथ तस्मै

अशासम्

प्रेहि³

(or) .سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل

.سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل⁴.سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل⁵ or

(and) thus to him

I said,

"Go forth,

*kāra(h)**hya(h)**hamithriya(h)*

कारः

यः

अमैत्रेयः

.سلاسل

.سلاسل

.سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل

the army

which

(is) inimical


1 See I-7. 2 See II-6. 3 2/1 Imper. of ई with प्र 2nd cl.; for the form see Rv. I-80-8; see II-6. 4 See II-6. 5 The form .سلاسل 2/1 Imper. occurs in Ys. 46-16. The form .سلاسل-سلاسل-سلاسل occurs in Vd. 22-7: .سلاسل-سلاسل or .سلاسل-سلاسل (P).

1 See II-6. 2 See II-6. 3 See II-7; ၂၈၂^၃-၁၆ (P.)

[illegible]

<i>Frāda(h)</i>	<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>Mārgava(h);</i>	<i>avam</i>	<i>mathishtam</i>
फ्रादः	नाम्ना	मार्गवः	तं	सदिष्टं
𐎠𐎼𐎡𐏁𐎧𐎺𐎫𐎥𐎵	𐎠𐎹𐎡𐏁𐎭𐎪𐎶	𐎠𐎤𐎲𐎢𐎽𐎰𐎣𐎱𐎠𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎸	𐎠𐎳𐎦𐎴𐎩	𐎠𐎮𐎡𐎷𐎴𐎨𐎻𐎬𐎿𐎠𐎵𐎾𐎴𐎩𐎿𐎠𐎴𐎡𐎹𐎸
Frāda	named (was) a	Margian,	this	chief

[illegible]

<i>frāishayam</i>	<i>Dādarshish</i>	<i>nāmā(n)</i>	<i>Pār-sa(h)</i>
प्रेक्ष्यम्	दादर्शिः	नाम्ना	पार्सः
			
sent (him who was)	Dādarshi	named	Parsi

<i>manā</i>	<i>ba(n)daka(h)</i>	<i>Bākhtriyā</i>	<i>Khshatrapāvā</i>
मम	बद्धकः	बाख्त्र्याः	क्षत्रपः
𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎣	𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎣	𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎣	𐎡𐎢𐎡𐎣
my	subject,	Bactrian	satrap.

<i>abhi</i>	<i>avam</i>	<i>avathāshaiy</i>	<i>athaham</i>	<i>Paraidiy</i>
अभि	एनं	एवं अथ तस्मै	अशासम्	प्रेहि
ⲁⲃⲓ ⲙⲁⲩ	ⲉⲛ	ⲉⲩⲱ ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲥⲱⲓ ⲙⲁⲩ	ⲙⲁⲩⲱⲥⲱⲓ	ⲡⲁⲣⲱⲓⲱⲩ
To	this	thus (to him)	I said :	"Go forth (and)

1 The reading "hashitiya" was wrong. 2 I-7. 3 6/1 of *See* on the analogy of *ḥ* (See Kanga's Gr. p. 80).

4 The 𐑦𐑦𐑦𐑦𐑦 occurs in Yt. 10-46. Punegar suggests 𐑦𐑦𐑦𐑦𐑦 (stem 1/1). 5 See II-7.

<i>avam</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>jadiy</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>naiy</i>
तं	कारं	जहि	यः	मम	नैव
𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌
that	army	smite, which	mine	does not	
<i>gaubataiy.</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>Dādarshish</i>			
गोपयति	पश्चा वा	दादर्षिः			

¹ 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌
call (itself)."	Afterwards	Dādarshi

<i>hadā</i>	<i>kārā</i>	<i>ashīyava(h)</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>
सह	कारेण	अच्यवत्	समरं

𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌
with the army	went,	(and) battle	

<i>akunaush</i>	<i>hadā</i>	<i>Margayaibish</i>
अकरोत् (अकृणोत्) ²	सह	मर्गभिः ³

𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌
made	with	Margians. ⁴

Ahuramazda gave me assistance. By grace of Ahuramazda, the army which was mine smote the army, which (was) inimical, utterly. Of Atryāditya month 23rd day it was, that thus with them battle was made.

4. *Thātiya etc.*⁵

Afterwards the province mine became. This is that which was done by me in Bactria.

5. *Thātiya etc., I* *martiya(h)* *Vahyazdāta(h)*

𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌	𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌
(There was) 1	man	Vahyazdāta

1 𐬕𐬀𐬎𐬌 (P.). 2 See II-14. 3 Supposing the word to be मर्ग and not मर्ग cf. विद्मिः 4 Then follows the usual passage. 5 As in para 2 above.

*nāma(n)*¹ *Tāravā* *nāma(n)* *vardanam* *Yutiya*
 नाम्ना तारवा नाम्ना वर्धनं युतिया
 .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم }
 named, (there is) Tāravā named city. (There is) Yutiya

nāmā *dahyāush* *Pārsaiy*, *avadā*
 नाम्ना दस्युः पार्से, अवत
 .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم }
 named district in Parsa, there (of that)

adāraya(h). *Haur* *duvityam* *udapatatā*
 अधारयत् असौ द्वितीयं उदपतत्
 .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم }
 he took possession. He a second time revolted

Pārsaiy *kārahya* *avathā*
 पार्से कारस्थ एवं अथ
 .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم }
 in Pārsa. To the army thus

athaha(h): *Adam* *Bardiya(h)* *amīy*
 अशासत् अहं बर्दियः अस्मि
 .سوم { .सوم } .सوم { .सوم } .सوم { .सوم }
 he said: "I Bardiya am

hya(h) *Kūraush* *puhra(h)* *Pasāva(h)* *kāra(h)*
 यः कूरो; पुत्रः पश्वा वा कारः
 .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم } .سوم { .سوم }
 who (is) Kuru's son." Afterwards the army,

1 In the Lexicon Tolman everywhere reads *nāma*. 2 See I-18. "he dwelt" (Tolman). 3 See II-8 .سوم { .سوم } (P.). 4 Other forms are .سوم { .سوم }, and .سوم { .سوم } (See Kanga's Dic. p. 518).

utā Mādam frāishayam hya(h) upā mām
 उत मादं प्रैश्यं यः उप मां
 and Median sent that (which) with me

āha(h). Artavardiya(h) nāma(n) Pārasa(h) manā
 आस अतैवर्दिय नाम्ना पार्सः मम
 was. Artavardiya named Persian (who was) my

ba(n)daka(h), avamshām mathishtam akunavam,
 बद्धकः तं मदिष्टं अकरवम्
 subject, him chief I made

hya(h) aniya(h) kāra(h) Pārasa(h)
 यः अन्यः कारः पार्सः
 That (which) (was) other army, Persian

pasā manā ashiyava(h) Mādam * * * * 1
 पश्च मम अच्यवत् मादम्
 after me went to Media.

Yathā Pārasam parārasa(h), Rakā²
 यदा पार्सं प्रार्षित् रका
 When to Pārša he went, Rakā

1 In the Lexicon Tolman reads *Pasīva(h) Artavardiya(h) hadī kīrī ashiyava(h) Pārsam* in lieu of the gap. 2 Rakā (Tolman).

<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>vardanam</i>	<i>Pārsaiy,</i>	<i>avadā</i>
नाम्ना	वर्धनं	पार्से	अवतः
𐭌𐭎𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕
named	city (there was)	in Pārsa,	there
<i>hauv</i>	<i>Vahyazdāta(h)</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>	<i>Bardiya(h)</i>
असौ	वह्यज्जदातः	यः	वर्दियः
𐭌𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕
that	Vahyazdāta	who	Bardiya
<i>agaubatā,</i>	<i>āish</i>	<i>hadā</i>	<i>kārā patish</i>
अगोपयत	ऐत्	सह	कारेण प्रति
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕
called (himself)	came	with	army against
<i>Artavardiyam</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>chartanaiy</i>	
अतिवर्दियं	समरं	करणाय	
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	
Artavardiya	battle	to make.	

*Pasava(h) etc.*⁵

Translation:—Afterwards battle was made. Ahura-mazda gave me assistance. By grace of Ahuramazda, I smote utterly the army, which was of Vahyazdāta. It was on the 12th day of the month Thuravāhar, when battle was made with them they⁶

7. <i>Thātiya etc. Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>hauv</i>	<i>Vahyazdāta(h)</i>
पश्चा वा	असौ	वह्यज्जदातः
𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕	𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕
Then	that	Vahyazdāta

1 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 (P.) 2 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 (P.) See II-12. 3 Cf. 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕
Kanga's Gr. p. 67. 4 𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕𐭕 (P.) 5 As in II-12. 6 See II-10.

<i>hadā</i>	<i>kamnaibish</i>	<i>asabāribish</i>	<i>amutha(h)</i>
सह	कतिभिः	अश्वपालैः or अश्ववहैः	अमुतः
with	a few	horsemen:	from there
<i>ashiyava(h)</i>	<i>Paishiyā(h)uvādām,</i>	<i>hachā</i>	
अश्ववत्	पैशियाहुवादाम्	सचा	
went (fled)	to Paishiyā-huvadā.	From	
<i>avadasha(h)</i>	<i>kāram</i>	<i>āyasaṭā</i>	<i>hyāparam</i>
अवतः	सः	कारं	आयसत्
यत् परं			
there	he an army	seized.	After this
<i>āish</i>	<i>patish</i>	<i>Artavardiyam</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>
ऐत्	प्रति	अतैवर्दियं	समरं
he went	against	Artavardiya	battle
<i>chartanañy.</i>	<i>Prga(h)</i>	<i>nāma(n)</i>	<i>kaufa(h)</i>
करणाय	प्रगः	नाम्ना	कूपः ⁵
to make.	(There is) Praga	named	mountain;
<i>avadā</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>akunava(n)</i>	
अवतः	समरं	अकुर्वन्	
there	a battle	they made.	

Ahuramazda gave me assistance. By grace of
Ahuramazda, the army which was mine, smote the army,

1 Cf. II 1. 2 See II-18 fled (P.) 3 See I-12. 4 I-19.
5 In Sk. कूप means "well", also "rock in the midst of a river."

on the pole (cross)

I put (i.e., I impaled).

who Bardiva

sent

Arachosian

8 See III-6. 4 Kanga's Dic. p. 92.

<i>tyam</i>	<i>Vahyazdāta(h)</i>	<i>frāishaya(h)</i>	<i>abiy</i>
त्यं	वह्यद्दातः	फ्रायत्	अभि
<p>which (army) Vahyazdāta sent against</p>			

<i>Vivānam</i>	<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>chartanaiy:</i>
विवानं	समरं	करणाय
<p>Vivāna battle to make.</p>		

<i>Kāpishkānish</i>	<i>nāmā</i>	<i>didā</i>	<i>avadā</i>
कापिष्कानिः	नाम्ना	देही	अवतः
<p>Kāpishkānesh named fort (there was), there</p>			

<i>hamaranam</i>	<i>akunava(n).</i>
समरं	अकुर्वन्.
<p>battle they made.</p>	

Ahuramazda gave me assistance. By grace of Ahuramazda, the army which was mine, smote utterly that army which was inimical. It was on the 13th day of the month Anāmaka, when battle was made with them thus.

<i>10. Thātya etc.</i>	<i>Patīy</i>	<i>hyāparam'</i>	<i>hamithriyā</i>
	प्रति	तस्य परं	असैत्र्याः
<p>Again after that the enemies</p>			

avahyā *kārahyā* *mathishta(h)* *āha(h)* *tyam*
 तस्य कारस्य महिष्ठः आस त्वं

 that army's chief was, whom

Vahyazdāta(h) *frāishaya(h)* *abiy* *Vivānam*
 वह्यझदातः फ्रैष्यन् अभि विवानं

Vahyazdāta sent against *Vivāna*

*hauv mathishta(h)*¹ *hadā* *kamnaibish* *asabāribish*
 सः महिष्ठः सह कतिभिः अश्ववहैः³

 he the chief with a few horsemen

ashiyava(h). *Arshādā* *nāmā* *didā*
 अश्ववत् अर्षादा नाम्ना देह

 went. *Arshādā* named fort

Hara(h)uvatiyā *avaparā* *atiyāish*
 हरहुवतियः तं परं³ अत्यैत

 (there is) in Arachosia, past that he went.

1 In the Lexicon Tolman says that this is a wrong reading for *amutha* Pre. 8/1 of *muth* "he went away". of. अमुद्धत (he ran away). 2 See I-84. (P.). 3 In the Lexicon Tolman suggests पुर्त. 4 See I-19 (from ~~to~~ to send) (Punegar).

<i>hauv</i>	<i>udapatatā,</i>	<i>Bābirauv</i>	<i>Dubāla</i>
सः	उदपतत्	बाबिरौ	दुबाल
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
he	revolted	in Babylon.	Dubāla

<i>nāmā</i>	<i>dahyāush</i>	<i>hachā</i>	<i>avadusha(h)</i>
नाम्ना	दस्युः	सचा	अवतः सः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
named	a province	from	there he

<i>hauv</i>	<i>udapatatā</i>	<i>arathā</i>	<i>adurujīya(h):</i>
असौ	उदपतत्	एवं अथ	अदुह्यत्:
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
he	revolted	(and) thus he	lied:

<i>Adam</i>	<i>Nabukudracha(h)</i>	<i>amiy,</i>	<i>hya(h)</i>
अहं	नबुकुद्रचरः	अस्मि,	यः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
"I	Nebuchadnezzar	am,	who (is)

<i>Nabunaitahyā</i>	<i>puthra(h).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>kāra(h)</i>
नबुनैतस्य	पुत्रः	पश्चा वा	कारः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
Nabunaita's	son."	Afterwards	the army

<i>Babiruvīya(h)</i>	<i>hachāma(h)</i>	<i>hamithriya(h)</i>
बाबिरुवियः	सचा मत्	अमैत्रियः
𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹
(which was) Babylonian	with me	inimical

1 See I-10. 2 𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎹

One Nidintu-Bel named Babylonian (there) was; he lied and thus said:— I am Nebuchadnezzar, who am Nabunait's son. He made Babylon inimical.

One Martiya named Persian (there) was; he lied and thus said:— I am Iwani, king of Huvja (Susiana). He made Susiana inimical.

One Fravarti named Median (there) was; he lied and thus said:— I am Khshathrita, Huvakhshatra's descendant. He made Media inimical.

One Chitra(n)takhma named Sagartian (there) was; he lied and said thus:— I am king in Sagartia, descendant of (H)uvakhshatra. He made Sagartia inimical to me.

One Frāda(h) named Margianian (there) was; he lied and said thus:— I am king in Margu (Margiana). He made Margiana inimical.

One Vahyazdāta named Persian (there) was; he lied and said thus:— I am Bardiya, who (am) the son of Kuru. He made Pārša inimical.

One Arakha(h) named Arminian (there) was; he lied and said thus:— I am Nebuchadnezzar, who (am) Nabunait's son. He made Babylon inimical.

3. Thātiy etc.,	<i>Imaiy</i>	<i>IX</i>	<i>khshāyathiyā</i>	<i>adam</i>
	इमान्	९	क्षत्रियान्	अहं
	𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎧𐎫𐎧𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎹	𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶
	These	9	kings	I

<i>agrabāyam.</i>	<i>a(n)tar</i>	<i>imā</i>	<i>hamaranā</i>
अग्रभयम्	अन्तर	ईमान् ²	समरान्
𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶	𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶	𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶	𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶𐎠𐎡𐎹𐎶
seized,	in	these	battles.

4. <i>Thātiy etc.,</i>	<i>Dahyāva(h)</i>	<i>īmā</i>	<i>tyā</i>
	दस्यवः	इमाः	त्याः
	دس دكوس	إما	تيا
	The provinces,	these (were)	which

<i>hamithriyā</i>	<i>abava(n),</i>	<i>drangadish</i>	
अमैत्र्याः	अभवन्	द्रोहः	ताः
امائتريه	۱. اصبحت	دراڭاديش	تاي
inimical	became.	Deceit	these

[illegible]

<i>adurajiyasha(n).</i>	<i>Pasāva(h)</i>	<i>dish</i>
अदुहयन् ^a	पश्वा वा	ताः
^a {१५३-स-म-ल-क}॥	• २० •	• ४७ •
they deceived.	Afterwards	these (provinces)

<i>A(h)uramazdā</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>dastayā</i>	<i>akunaush</i>
अहुरमज्दः	मम	हस्ते	अकरोत्
𐬀𐬵𐬭𐬀𐬰𐬌𐬎𐬵𐬀𐬨𐬀	𐬨𐬆𐬢𐬀	𐬔𐬀𐬕𐬀𐬶𐬀	𐬀𐬕𐬸𐬀𐬨𐬀𐬰𐬀
Ahuramazda	in my	hands	made (placed)

Yathā mām kāma(h), ayathā dī(śh) akunavam)
यथ मे कामः एवं अथ ताः अकवम्
As (was) my wish, so these (I made).

1 See Kanga's Dic. p. 876. 2 Aor. 3/3 passive of रुह्.

3 The *sh* Aorist 3/3 of 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 . P. suggests 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Inchoative). 4 In Avesta, the word is neuter; in Sk. mas. .

<i>tya(h)</i>	<i>manā</i>	<i>kratam</i>	<i>avathā</i>
यत्	मम	कृतम्	एवं अथ
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
(as to) what	I	have done.	Thus

<i>avahyarādiy</i>	<i>mā</i>	<i>apagaudaya</i>	<i>yadiy</i>
अस्मात् हि	मा	अवगृह्य	यदि
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
for this reason	do not	conceal (it).	If

<i>imām</i>	<i>ha(n)dugām</i>	<i>naīy</i>	<i>apagaudayāhy,</i>
इमम्	संदोहं	नैव	अवगृह्यसि
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
this	collection (of record)	not	thou concealest (but)

<i>kārahyā</i>	<i>thāhy,</i>	<i>A(h)uramazdā</i>	<i>thuvām</i>
कारस्य	शंससि,	अहुर्मज्दः	त्वाम्
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
to the people	thou tellest (it),	may Ahuramazda	to thee

<i>daushtā</i>	<i>biyā(h),</i>	<i>utātaiy</i>	<i>taumā</i>
जुष्टः	भूयात्	उत तव	तोक्मः
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
friend	be,	and (may) thy	family

<i>vasiy</i>	<i>biyā(h)</i>	<i>utā</i>	<i>dr̥gam</i>	<i>jivā</i>
वशी	भूयात्	उत	दीर्घम्	जीव
𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥
abundant	be,	and (mayest thou)	long	live.

1 𐭥𐭥𐭥 is of 6th cl., but here of 10th cl. or causal. Sk. गृह् is of 1st cl. 2 Though not an equivalent, this word conveys the same sense. 3 Cf. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥. 4 See Rv. I 77. 1. 5 Kanga's Dic. p. 376. 6 Cf. 𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 Ys. 62. 10.

15. *Thātiy etc., Tuvam kā hya(h) aparam imām*

त्वं कः यः अपरं इमां
 ६७९ ७ २३० ६६१ ६७९
 Thou whosoever hereafter this

dipim vaināhy, tyām adam niyapiṣam,
 लिपिम् वेनसि त्यां अहं न्यपिषम्
 ६७९ ७ २३० ६६१ ६७९
 inscription shalt see which I have inscribed

imaivā patikarā mātya vikanāhy,
 इमान् प्रतिकारान् मा त्यान् विखसि^१
 ६७९ ७ २३० ६६१ ६७९
 (and) these sculptures, shall not destroy them.

yavā jivāhy avā avaiy paribarā.^३
 यावत् जीवसि तावत् तान् परिभर
 ६७९ ७ २३० ६६१ ६७९
 As long as thou livest, so long them protect.

16. *Thātiy etc., Yadi imām dipim vaināhy*

यदि इमां लिपिम् वेनसि
 ६७९ ७ २३० ६६१ ६७९
 If this inscription thou shalt see

imaivā patikarā naiydish
 इमान् प्रतिकारान् नैव तान्
 ६७९ ७ २३० ६६१ ६७९
 (and) these sculptures and shall not

1 प्रतिकायान् would be better, as it means "pictures".

2 Pre. tense used as imper. 3 Tolman and Paul Horn read "parikarā". Tolman in his "Lexicon" says that the reading is wrong, it should be "paribarā". It is of 1st class.

17. *Thātiy etc., Yadiy imām dipim imāivā*

यदि इमां लिपिम् इमान्

· ۱۰۰۰۰۰ · ۱۰۰۰۰۰ · ۱۰۰۰۰۰ · ۱۰۰۰۰۰

If this inscription (and) these

patikarā

vaināhy

vikanāh(i)dish,

प्रतिकारान्

वेनसि

विखनसि

तनि,

· ۱۰۰۰۰۰ · ۱۰۰۰۰۰ · ۱۰۰۰۰۰ · ۱۰۰۰۰۰

sculptures, thou shalt see and shalt destroy them,

utātaiy¹

yāvā

taumā

ahatiy,

naiydish

उत

यावत्

तोक्मः

अस्ति

नैव

तानि

· ۱۰۰۰ · ۱۰०० · ۱۰०००० · ۱۰०००० · ۱۰०० · ۱۰००

and they as long as family shall be, not these

paribarāhy,²

A(h)uramazdātaiy

jatā

परिभरसि

अहुर्मज्दः

हन्ता

· ۱۰०० · ۱۰०० · ۱۰०००० · ۱۰०००० · ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰

thou shalt guard,

Ahuramazda

(thy) smiter

bāyā(h),

utātaiy

taumā

mā

bāyā(h);

भूयात्

उत

तव

तोक्मः

मा

भूयात्;

· ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰ · ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰ · ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰ · ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰

be,

and

thy

family

not

may be

utā

tya(h)

kunavāhy,

avataiy

उत

त्यत्

कृणोषि

तत्

· ۱॰ ۱॰ · ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰ · ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰ · ۱॰ ۱॰ ۱॰

and

whatever

thou shalt do,

(that) for thee

1 Tolman in his *Pers. Inscriptions* and Paul Horn read "*utāmaiyy*", but in *Lexicon* Tolman reads "*utātaiy*", which is more correct. 2 Wrongly read "*parikarāhy*". 3 ۱۰۰۰۰۰ Killer (Kanga's Dic. p. 186); ۱۰۰۰۰۰ (P.).

SOME RECENT PAPERS ON SUBJECTS OF INDO-IRANIAN INTEREST. A FEW OBSERVATIONS.

BY DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

I

The October 1930 issue of the Quarterly Journal of the
Mythic Society.

The Chairman's interesting address, delivered by
Sir Charles Todhunter, the Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Mysore, recommends, among other subjects, the study of Indian games and dances. In connection with what he says about the invention of the game of Chess by the wife of Ravan of Lanka, I may refer those interested in the subject to my paper giving the Iranian view of the game, which says, that it was invented in India for the solace of a weeping widow, who mourned the loss of one of her sons in a battle with his brother.¹ Caxton, the first English printer, gives two other versions about the origin and discovery of chess in his "The Game of Chess."

Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Iyer, in his "Dravidic Perspectives," says that "words expressive of the ideas of *direction* like 'here', 'there', 'front', 'back', 'above', 'below', are some of the most primitive in all languages. In the formation of such words, demonstrative particles and

1 *Vide* my paper "Firdousi on the Indian Origin of the Game of Chess" (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIX, p. 224-36. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part I, pp. 85-98).

elementary roots generally play an important part." I think that the following words in the Avesta (Moher Nyâish 11) illustrate these:

<i>Aiwi</i> (in aiwi-		<i>Upairi</i>	upper
dakhyâm)	outer	<i>Adhairi</i>	lower
<i>Antarê</i>	inner	<i>Pairi</i>	round about
<i>Â</i>	near, lower	<i>Aipi</i>	back

As to the four sides, the author says: "The ideas of 'east', 'west', 'north' and 'south', however, indicate a slightly more advanced orientation and involve a more comprehensive sense of space and direction inasmuch as in these cases, the concrete ideas of direction have more or less become generalised and permanised. The rising and the setting of the sun form a familiar daily phenomenon which should have contributed to the permanisation of the ideas of 'east' and 'west'; 'north' and 'south' should have followed as corollaries and become fixed when the sense of direction became sufficiently advanced. It would be an interesting study to analyse the forms for east, west, south and north in different language-groups and determine the particular outlook of the peoples, which may have conditioned the formation of these words". As suggested by the author, I will examine here the Avesta group-words for these directions.

East.—The Avesta words for this direction is *ushangh* (𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎) or *ushâ* (𐬵𐬀𐬎), which is same as Sans. उषस, Lat. *aurora*. It comes from the root *ush* 𐬵𐬀, Sans. उष, to shine. The word also means the dawn. So, the word signifies that direction whence the light of the Sun appears or whence the dawn comes. The words *ushahîna* (𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬌𐬎𐬌), the period of time between midnight and the morning twilight, also comes from the same root.

West.—*Daoshatara* (دوشادارت). The word comes from *daosha* (دوش), Sans. दौषा, Pers. دوش, Fr. *dos*), i.e., shoulder. When you are standing facing the sun in the east in the morning, the west is on your shoulder, i.e., on your back.

South.—*Rapithwa* (رپیتوا). The word is a contraction of *ayarē pithwa* (ایارے پیتوا), i.e., the *pitu* (پیتو) or *pithwa* (پیتوا), (Sans. पितृ, Eng. pith), the very pith or middle part of the day (*ayarē*), the very middle of the day. In the very middle of the day, the sun takes a southerly direction. Hence the name. In other languages also, the same word, which expresses mid-day, expresses 'south'; e.g., نیم روز, *nimrûz*, i.e., half day in Persian. Cf. Lat. *meridies*, Fr. *midi*. The same Avesta word represents a particular period of the day, from midday to 3 o'clock.

North.—*Apākhtara* (آپاکھتارت), P. *bākhtar* اختر. The word comes from *apa* अप, Lat. *ab*, Gr. *ap*, far and *akhtara* (اکھتارت), P. اختر, star. Thus, the word literally means "far towards the star".

The Avesta word for side or direction generally is *naēma* from *nē*, to lead, to show.

II

Doura-Eropos. Based on "Fouilles de Doura-Eropos (1922-23), par Franz Cumont. Paris 1926." By Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. VI, Part I, 1930)

The interesting article is, as said by the writer, an "analysis of the monumental work of the Belgian archaeologist and savant M. Franz Cumont, which embodies the result of excavations made by him on the site of the ancient Mace-

donian colony of Doura-Eropos,...situated in the heart of the Syrian desert, near modern Salihyeh, on the right bank of the Euphrates. The colony was founded at the end of the 4th century B.C. by Nicanor, a general of Seleucus. M. Cumont's excavations have discovered new documents, showing, that Parthian civilization had penetrated into this region with its Parthian conquest and had influenced the sculptures, paintings, ceramics, jewellery and even the costumes of the people there. The colony, at one time, formed the country of Hana, more than 3000 years before Christ. It had subjugated Babylon in 2800 B.C. On the fall of the last Achaemenian king, Darius, who ruled over Syria, it fell into the hands of the Macedonians. The Greek name Europos was added to the name after the name of Europos in Macedonia, where Seleucus Nicator (312-280) was born.

The Syrian martyr Mar Mu'ain, who lived in the time of Shapur II, refers to this colony. The people of the desert-capital of Palmyra had once occupied the colony before its occupation by the Romans. The organization of Palmyrene army was based on that of the Persians. Argapetes, the title of the commandant, was Iranian. In the bas-reliefs of Palmyra, "the heroified dead are represented in banqueting scenes in the Persian festival costume".

In the times of the ascendancy of the Parthian Arsacides which lasted for about a few centuries, the Parthian influence on the colony was great. The colony then had "become a connecting link between big cities of the Parthian Empire in their commercial relations with one another. Thus many Iranian elements were introduced in the onomastics¹ of Doura, which, however, are very restricted, as the Parthians were represented mostly by

1 "Pertaining to or consisting of names."

artisans, merchants and functionaries." It seems that a system of registering documents prevailed in the colony. Eumenes II (195-158 B.C.) of Pergamum was, upto now, held to be the discoverer of parchments, but a document has been excavated in the colony bearing the date of about 195 B.C., thus showing, that parchment must have been discovered earlier than the time of Eumenes II.²

In the matter of the organization of the family, the people of the colony, at first, practised endogamy. "Women married their consanguine brothers.....and.....uncles had their own nieces for wives. This endogamy, which is a contradiction of the whole constitution of *genos* (or families) based on the parentage through male offsprings, is a survival of the matriarchate.....This custom of consanguinous marriages... ..the inhabitants of Doura-Eropos had adopted most probably under the Parthian influence".

I think, that one need not speak of this practice as a "custom". Even if we take, that, cases of this kind of marriage did really occur among some Achæmenian kings, we must take them as rare cases and not as *custom*. As said by me, in my paper "A Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A.S." (p. 102), we learn from Herodotus that, when Cambyses consulted the judges, about a consanguinous marriage which he wanted to perform, they distinctly said that "they did not find any law allowing such marriages." (Rawlinson's Herodotus, Bk. III, 31.)

2 Dr. Unvala refers in a footnote to Herodotus (Bk. V, 58) saying that "the archives of the Achæmenian sovereigns were written on prepared skins". He also refers (a) to a similar statement in the *Ardai Virâf-nâme* and (b) to the discovery of three parchments in the village of Auroman in Persian Kurdistan in 1909. The third of these three is a Pahlavi document of about 53-54 A.C.

III

**Origin of the Rajputs, The Nationality of the Gurjars, by
Niharranjan Ray.¹**

As Mr. N. Ray says: "There is now a general consensus of opinion amongst scholars that the Rajputs, like most of the Brahmins, were originally of non-Indian extraction and that the former were the descendants of foreign people who entered India about the beginning of the 6th century A.D., i.e., of the Hunas and the Gurjaras" (p. 117). There are two scholars who differ from this general consensus of opinion: (1) Mr. C. V. Vaidya (*vide* his History of Mediaeval Hindu India, Vols. I and II), and (2) Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha (*vide* his Hindi History of Rajputana). Among the foremost of the adherents of the general consensus, is Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, who has written a good deal on the subject of Foreign Elements in the Indian population, a subject first referred to by Sir John Campbell in his Gazetteer. Mr. William Crooke, the editor of the new edition of the Annals of Rajasthan, also is on the side of the consensus. Mr. N. Ray meets in his article some of the objections of the opponents and thinks "that the Gurjaras appeared on the scene of Indian History by the middle of the 6th century A.D. along with the Hunas" (p. 118). Both these tribes, entering from the North-west, spread towards the East and the South. The Gurjars were the same as the Khazars of the West. Mr. Vaidya says that the Gurjars though "darker in complexion" are Aryans and therefore not foreigners, but our author says, that "the Aryans themselves were foreigners" and that "there were Aryan stocks outside India with non-Indian culture who poured into the

¹ Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute
Vol. XII, Part II.

country from time to time and became Hinduised" (p. 119). Mr. Vaidya takes the Khazars to be Mongolians. Mr. Ray refutes this view.

Mr. Jogendra Chandra Gosh's article in the same journal, entitled "Some additional Notes on Foreign elements in the Hindu Population" is interesting as an offshoot of the same subject.

I am inclined to the view, that the Gurjars, like the Huns, were foreigners who came here from the West, from the direction of Persia. I have spoken about the Huns, at some length, in my four papers relating to the Huns.¹ I have shown that the Huns who invaded India were Zoroastrian by religion. I have spoken about the Gurjars, at some length, in my Gujarati Lecture delivered before the Gujarat Vernacular Society at Ahmedabad in June 1929. I have spoken, at some length, about the association of the Rajputs, indirectly with the Iranians of the Sassanian times, in my Gujarati paper entitled "ઉદયપુર, રાજપૂતાનાનું કશ્મીર, તેની ઇતિહાસ." (Oodeypur, the Kashmir of Rajputana. Its History) in the *Hindi Graphic* of 1929-30. From my study about these people, I am of opinion that the ancestors of these races were from the West, from the direction of the Caspian Sea.

IV

**Antiquity of Tantricism, by Mr. Chintaram Chakravarti,
M.A., Lecturer, Bethune College, Calcutta.**

The author of this interesting book says that the Tantric Satkarmas (the six magical rites), "the use of

¹ For the first paper, *vide* Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 65-80; for the second, *vide* Journal of the B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 539-95 (*Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 293-34). For the third and fourth papers, *vide* Proceedings of the 3rd Oriental Conference at Madras.

charms and amulets, the revolting rites of the Kaulas, use of intoxicating drugs for producing ecstasy, the belief in the efficiency of mantras, consisting, sometimes, of apparently unmeaning syllables, are found among various primitive people." As a matter of fact, some of these contributed essential parts to primitive religion all the world over. Some of these have continued their existence in the beliefs of some of the followers of the known great religions of the world. The Iranians had some belief in amulets. They had their *nirangs* or religious incantations. (For some of these, *vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part I, pp. 43-50, 122-130, 340-54; Part III, pp. 52-71.)

V

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar on "The Aryan Immigration into Eastern India."

Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar is an authority on the question of "Foreign Elements in the population of India". His recent article on "The Aryan Immigration into Eastern India"¹ is very interesting from the above point of view. The Asuras and the Magadhas of India are taken by many to be Iranians from the West. The Asuras are taken to be the followers of the old Ahurian religion of Ahura Mazda of Iran, and the Magadhas are the descendants of the ancient Iranian Magas, the chiefs of whom were Magu-paitis or Mobads. The article is interesting from the point of view of the contact of the Iranians with the Indians. So, I give (A), at first, a brief summary of the important part of the article and (B) then I will submit some observations.

1 The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. XII, Part II, 1931.

According to the Rigveda, at the time when it was written, the Aryans had advanced upto the countries watered by the Ganges and the Jumna. At that time, a non-Aryan people named the Kikāṣas were settled in Magadha. Magadha is not mentioned in the Rigveda. It is first mentioned in the Atharvaveda (V. 22-14) "along with Aṅga where a wish is expressed that Fever (*takman*) may leave the Aryan land and infest the countries of such border tribes¹ as the Aṅgas and the Magadhas" (p. 103). Of these two alien tribes, the Aṅgas seem to have been taken into the fold of Aryan civilization after 900 B.C. but the Magadhas were admitted only a few years before the foundation of Buddhism (*i.e.*, about 600 B.C.). There were "Sixteen Great Countries" (*Ṣoḷasa-mahājanapada*) "into which that portion of India which was occupied by the Aryans was divided."² The eastern part of North Bihār, formed the country of the Aṅgas, and South Bihār, of which Rājagṛha was the capital, formed the country of the Magadhas. Magadha was a country of Buddhist activity. It was in the 6th century that Magadha and Aṅga were associated with Buddhism.

The boundary of the ancient Aryā-varta was as follows:—

On the North, Himālayas.

On the South, the Pāriyātra range.

On the East, Kālakā-vana.

On the West, Ādarsha.

1 Cf. The wish in the Avesta, that evil (*drukhsh*) may leave the place and go to "northern" (*apākhdra*) regions (*Vend. VIII, 21*).

P. 105. *Vide* Carmichael Lectures for 1918, p. 48.

The Kālakā-vana seems to have been situated in some country in the east of Bihār. This place seems to have taken its name from Kālakā, the daughter of the Asura Vaishvānara, who had, with her sister, given birth to 60,000 Dānavas. The Kālakā-vana may be identified with modern Jhādakhaṇḍa on the south of Gayā in Bihār. The "ancient name of Bihār was Prācyā, which was the country of Asuras" (p. 108). The above Kālakā was an "Asura princess and mother of several Asura warriors" (p. 108). The country of Ādarsha (the Adraistai of Arrian and the Adrēstai of Diodorus), which formed the Western boundary of the ancient Arya-varta, seems to be the country between the Ravi and the Beas in Punjab.

The people of the country outside the above Arya-varta, having not come into "the pale of Vedic civilization", the people of Arya-varta were forbidden to go to that foreign country (p. 109). If they did, they had to go through a purifying rite. Much of the above information about Arya-varta is gathered from the Baudhāyana-Dharmśāstra, written in about the 4th century B.C., by which time the Aṅgas and Magadhas were Aryanised but not completely Brahmanised. Puṣyamitra, a Brahmin king, who ruled at Pataliputra, directed that the country of Aṅga may be completely Brahmanised.

The Vāyupurāṇa, later on, speaks of Bhāratvarṣa. This Bhāratvarṣa extended from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the country of the Mlecchhas in the West to that of the Kirātas in the East. This Bhāratvarṣa was all Brahmanised. The Kirāta is the Kirrhādia of Ptolemy. It is the modern country of Tiperra including Sylhet and Assam. By about 250 A.C. the whole of India was Brahmanised.

Later on, the Manu-smṛti (2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.C.) speaks of "the Puṇḍrakas together with

the Yavanas, Sakas, Palhavas, and Kirātas as the Kshatriya races which were degraded to the condition of the Shūdras, in consequence of their neglect of the rites and the Brahmins" (p. 112).

Though Aṅga in Bihār was Brahmanised by 900 B.C. the South Bihār and Bengal were Brahmanised much later, in about the 3rd century A.C. The country was Aryanised, and was Shramanised, i.e., made to adopt Buddhism or Jainism, but it was not Brahmanised till very late. Why so? The Shramana sect (the Buddhists and Jains) expected "obedience and respect of its laity only to its moral code and its founder respectively. It left the lay followers perfectly free to pursue their old forms of ritual and to adhere to their original social manners and customs. Such was not however the case with Brahmanism, which, although it left the old faiths in many cases untouched, demanded implicit reverence to the Vedas and the Brahmins and insisted upon its peculiar socio-religious hierarchy, namely, *varnāshrama*, being introduced and rigorously followed" (p. 113).

The cause of the delay in the Brahmanising of the eastern part seems to be, that the Brahmins received opposition from the Ahuras in that part of the country. The tribes living in the East were all Asura in origin. It is even thought that they derived their names from the five sons of an Asura king, Bali by name.

There is the tradition of there being another Asura king in Bengal, Bana by name. He is said to be the son of the above Asura king, Bali. The Shatapatha-Brahmana "speaks of the Asuras as the Prācyas, which we know was another name of the Magadha or South Bihār, if not, for the whole of East India. In fact, in ancient times, Bihār, and west Bengal formed one political unit. Thus, when Alexander came into India, and wanted to conquer that

part of the country which was to the east of the Sarasvati, he heard that it was dominated by Agrammes or Xandrames, king of the Praisoi and the Gangaridae. It has been admitted on all hands that the Praisoi corresponds the Prācyas or Magadha In fact, the king of Pataliputra was designated king of Prācyā" (p. 115).

Jarāsamdha, the king of Girivaraja—another name of Rajagraha, the earlier capital of Prācyā or Magadha, was "called an Asura in the Mahābhārata". Bihār is said to have long been ruled by Asura kings who "had culture and civilization of their own" (p. 116). The socio-religious fabric of the Asuras must have resisted very strongly and for a long time the inroads of Brahmanism In fact, the civilization of pre-Mauryan India especially in Magadha was a fusion of the Aryan and Asura cultures.

I now beg to submit a few observations which show that Mr. Bhandarkar's paper is important from the point of view of the late Dr. Spooner's theory—a theory independently supported by some Hindu scholars¹—that India, especially, the northern regions of Punjab, and Behar had come much under the influence of the ancient Parsis and Persians. Ferishta, on the authority of older Arab and Persian writers, traces connection between India and Persia from the time of the Peshdadian kings who held parts of India under their rule².

1. The Magadhas are first mentioned in the Atharva-veda, the Atharva of "the Indians corresponding to the Atharvans of the Iranians.

¹ Vide "Foreign Connection of Buddha" by Sree Akkiraj Umakanta Vidya-sekhara. A paper read at the 3rd Oriental Conference at Madras (1924).

² Vide Brigg's Ferishta, Vol. I, Introductory Chapter on the Hindus, p. LXVI. Vide my "Gimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. A. S." p. 145.

2. Just as the Indians wished that fever (*takman*) may leave the Aryan land and infest the border tribes, the Iranians wished that the Daevas—and fever (*tafnu*) was an evil on which a daeva presided—may fly to northern regions (Vend. VIII, 21).

3. Just as there were "16 great countries (Solasa-Mahā-janapada)", into which that portion of India which was occupied by the Aryans was divided, the Iranians also had sixteen (khshvash daçan *ਖੋਸ਼ਵਸ਼ ਦਾਚਨ*) countries under their influence.

4. The Dānavas (about 60,000) were descended from two daughters of an Asura or an Ahurian. These Indian Dānavas are the Iranian Danus. I think that it is the tribe of the Dānus in the West that has given their geographical names to rivers like the Danube, the Dneiper, the Dneister and the Don. Probably the name Danube comes from Danu and Av. ap (*अप*; Pers. āb *آب*, water) meaning "the waters or the river of the Danu tribe".

5. The ancient name of Magadha or South Bihār was "Pracyā" which was the country of the Asuras. The Asuras are spoken of as Prācyas. The name seems to be significant. Is not "Prācyā" the same as the name "Parsaiy," mentioned in the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspes,¹ the king who often speaks of his devotion to Ahura Mazda and who was an Ahurian of the Ahurians, the Asura of the Asuras? In his inscription of Naqsh-i Rostam, Darius speaks of himself as "Parsa Parsahya putra Ariya Ariya chithra," i.e., a Parsi (or Persian) the son of a Parsi, an Aryan, one of Aryan descent².

When Alexander came to India and desired to conquer the country in the east of Saraswati, "he heard that it was dominated by Agrammes or Xandrames, King of the

1 *Vide* Tolman's "Guide of the Old Persian Inscriptions," p. 54
Vide for the name also other Inscriptions, *Ibid.* p. 57. 2 *Ibid.* p. 79.

Praisioi.....In fact the king of Pataliputra was designated king of Prācyā". The above names, Agra, names and Xandrames, are Persian. According to Herodotus, the Persian names generally ended with "s".

6. The people of the country outside Arya-varta had not come into "the pale of Aryan civilization". So, the people of Arya-varta were forbidden to go there, and if they did go there, they were asked to go through a purification ceremony. Though one cannot put his finger on ^{any} Mi-chapter or verse of the Avesta referring to a similar custom among the Iranians, we have a proof of a similar custom in the historical case of Tiridates (Tirdad), the Zoroastrian King of Armenia. According to Tacitus,² when summoned by Emperor Nero to Rome, to be crowned there by his own hands as the King of Armenia under him, Tiridates refused on the ground of a sacerdotal custom prohibiting the crossing of the sea. A similar statement is made about his brother Vologeses (the Valkhash of Parsi books). The custom was prevalent even among the Parsees of India upto a few years ago when Parsi priests were forbidden to go across the sea. The priests who had gone to Aden, about 50 years ago, to consecrate the Fire-temple founded there by the late Mr. Cowasji Dinshaw of Aden, were, on their return to India, prevented from officiating in the inner circle of liturgical services.

7. Jarāsamdha, the king of Girivaraja, another name of Rajagraha (Rajgir), the earlier capital of Prācyā or Magadhā, was "called an Asura in the Mahābhārata". Again Bihār is said to have been ruled for long by Asura kings who "had culture and civilization of their own". This foreign culture and civilization show them to be foreigners from Persia, the Prācyā of the Iranian Inscription.

1 Bk. I, 139.

2 Works of Tacitus, Vol. I. The Annals, Bk. XV, p. 24. Ed. of the Oxford Press.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

THE REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1930.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute beg to submit their report of the work of the Institute for the year 1930.

Extra Meetings.—There were six meetings of the Executive Committee during the year.

Members of the Institute.—In the beginning of the year, there were 219 Life Members. Owing to the removal of five names on account of death and increase of two fresh members, the number of Life Members at the end of the year stood at 216.

There were 69 Annual Members in the beginning of the year. On account of the death of three members and the addition of four new members, at the end of the year, the number of Annual Members was 70.

Celebration of the Anniversary of the Death of Mr. K. R. Cama.—The twenty-first anniversary of the death of the late Mr. K. R. Cama was celebrated on Wednesday, the 20th August 1930, at 6-15 p.m. (S.T.), in the hall of the Institute, when Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., delivered a discourse on "Alexander the Great and the Destruction of the Ancient Literature of the Parsis at his hands".

Lecture.—Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., delivered a lecture on "Pahlavi Literary Iran" at the Institute premises, on Monday, the 15th December 1930, under the presidentship of Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D., when Mrs. Meherbanoo B. T. Anklesaria also addressed the meeting and gave her impressions as to the present rising Iran.

Reprint of Journal No. 6.—Professor Nöldeke's German treatise on "Das Iranische Nationalepos" (the Iranian National Epic) was translated into English by Mr. L. Bogdanov under the auspices of this Institute. The translation was printed in Journal No. 6. The subject-matter of this Journal being an important criticism on the Shah-nameh of Firdousi, and historical and legendary accounts connected with the great Persian poet, there was a good demand for the Journal and so it was nearly out of stock. At the instance of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji a reprint of the Journal was published at a cost of Rs. 529-12-0 as Publication No. 7 and with a view to increase its importance a Table of Contents and an Index were added therein.

Translation of an Italian Treatise on "I Misteri Persiani".—An English translation of the section of Prof. Pettazzoni's work "I Misteri" dealing with the Persian Mysteries was prepared by Dr. Jamshed M. Unvala, M.A., Ph.D., who was given an honorarium of Rs. 150.

Translation of the First Book of Hamza Ispahani.—The work of translating into English the First Book of Hamza Ispahani has been entrusted to Dr. U. H. Daudpota on an honorarium of Rs. 150.

Translation of Neryosang's Sanskrit Version of the Khordeh Avesta.—The Executive Committee entrusted the work of translating into English Neryosang's Sanskrit Version of the Khordeh Avesta as given in Ervad Sherrarji Bharucha's "Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis, Part I", to Dr. Jamshed Maneckji Unvala, B.A., Ph.D., on an honorarium of Rs. 250 from the Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Prize Fund.

Revision of the Ms. copy of the Persian Burzo-Nameh.—The Executive Committee had, at a cost of Rs.

900, got the two Manuscript volumes of the Persian Burzo-Nameh, lent by the Columbia University of New York, copied by a Mahomedan scribe in the years 1927 and 1928. At the suggestion of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, the Executive Committee deemed it necessary to get the copy revised after comparison with the original MSS. which were subsequently returned to New York. The work of comparison was entrusted to Mirza Zain-ul Abedin Khan Hekmat Shirazi on an honorarium of Rs. 500. Besides correcting the copy, Mr. Shirazi prepared notes of correction for the mistakes he detected in the original Mss. The work was carried out under the constant supervision of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, for which the Committee express thanks to him.

Resignation of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi as Joint Honorary Secretary of the Institute.—Dr. Jivanji Modi having submitted his resignation of his office as Joint Honorary Secretary of the Institute by his letter dated the 3rd February 1930, the following resolution was passed unanimously :—

“The resignation of his office as Honorary Secretary of the Institute by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., should be forwarded to the Trustees. The Executive Committee have received it with deep regret. Dr. Modi took the leading part in founding this Institute and from the beginning upto now in spite of an enormous amount of other occupations, he has worked in its interests with indefatigable zeal and devotion to put it on a firm foundation, to further its utility and enhance its prestige. For two years he was its President, and since the last nine years he has discharged the much more onerous duties of its Secretary, doing not only most of the laborious work of that office, but also most

of the literary work as well. He has not only put the Institute in order, increased the membership and funds, but also worked as Editor of its Journal contributing a large number of erudite and interesting papers from his vast store of learning, given a large number of lectures from its platform and induced other scholars to do the same, and represented the Institute as its delegate at various congresses and conferences of scholars. The Committee record their deep sense of gratitude to him for all his work, and cannot but regret that considerations of health compel him to give up a part of it. They are glad however to note that he has kindly consented to remain a member of the Executive Committee and favour it with his valuable advice and help. They sincerely hope that this connection of which they are proud will continue for many more years to come."

The Trustees of this Institute also passed the following resolution of appreciation of Dr. Modi's services:—

"The Trustees of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute have received with regret the resignation given by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., of the office of Honorary Secretary of the Institute. They desire to place on record their high sense of appreciation of the valued services rendered by Dr. Modi to the Institute from its inception. Some of these services have been referred to in the resolution passed by the Executive Committee in forwarding Dr. Modi's resignation. Whilst cordially concurring in the Committee's resolution of appreciation of Dr. Modi's services, the Trustees desire to tender to Dr. Modi their best thanks for the zeal and devotion with which he has laboured for the advancement of the Institute in which he has taken a keen personal inter-

rest not merely as an Oriental scholar and a public-spirited citizen, but also as a friend and admirer of the great scholar in honour of whom the Institute has been founded.

“The Trustees are glad to learn that Dr. Modi’s esteemed connection with the Institute as a Member of the Executive Committee and as Editor of the Institute’s Journal still continues. They hope that such connection will endure for many years to come and that Providence will bless Dr. Modi with health and strength to carry on his literary and scholarly activities during his retirement.”

Commemoration of Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi’s services to the Institute.—At the suggestion of Bai Serene M. Cursetji to commemorate the indefatigable services rendered by Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi to the cause of this Institute, the Committee passed the following resolution at the meeting held on the 5th August 1930 :—

“As a mark of appreciation of the great services rendered to this Institute by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D., an oil paint portrait of his, and, the fund permitting, a memorial cabinet containing all his publications and other relics of his be placed in the Institute, the expenses of the same to be defrayed from voluntary subscriptions by the members of the Institute, and a sub-committee of the following members be appointed to carry out the object of this resolution : Mr. Sorabji E. Warden, Miss Serene M. Cursetji, Mr. Kaikhushru H. Cama, and the Hony. Secretary, Mr. S. K. Hodivala.”

The sub-committee has, by the end of the year under report, collected Rs. 1,389, subscribed by the mem-

bers of the Institute, the maximum subscription for the fund being kept at Rs. 25.

(A Request.—It is requested that those members who have not sent in their contribution will please send it to the Joint Honorary Secretaries at their convenience.)

Resolution of Congratulation.—The Executive Committee, at its meeting of the 19th June 1930, passed unanimously the following resolution of congratulation to Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, on the title of Knighthood conferred on him by the British Government :—

“The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute tenders its very cordial congratulations to Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D., on account of the title of Knighthood conferred on him by Government, an honour fully deserved for, among other reasons, his own extensive learning and his indefatigable exertions in the cause of learning and prays that he may be long spared in health and happiness to enjoy this distinction and continue his career of great usefulness.”

Dr. Sir Jivanji thanked the Committee for its resolution of congratulation by his letter dated the 21st June 1930.

New Joint Honorary Secretary.—At the instance of the Executive Committee the Trustees were pleased to appoint Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala, B.A., as Joint Honorary Secretary in lieu of Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, resigned. The Executive Committee thanked Mr. Hodivala for kindly placing his honorary services as Joint Secretary at the disposal of the Committee.

Manekji Limji Hateria Library.—As stated in the report for the year 1929, arrangements were made, by

securing the order of the High Court, to transfer the above Library from the Anjuman Atash-behram to this Institute. The books and Mss., as selected by Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji and brought to this Institute, numbered as under:—

Avesta, Pahlavi and other books relating to Zoroastrianism	...	...	...	38
Mss. on the same subjects	...	...	...	28
Books on miscellaneous subjects	...	...	...	131
Persian books and Mss.	...	...	...	923
Total	...	...	...	1,120

For the upkeep of the Library, the Honorary Secretaries of the Anjuman Atash-behram have been pleased to send to this Institute (with their letter dated 23rd April 1930) four pieces of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 1000 each of 1854-55 bearing numbers B. 114346-49, with cash Rs. 5-2-0 being the balance of the Library Fund that remained with them after deducting the legal and other incidental expenses. The Committee beg to thank the members of the Atash-behram Committee for their kindness.

The thanks of the Executive Committee are due to Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji for selecting the books and preparing a list of Persian books and Mss.

The books and Mss. of the Hateria Library have been covered against risk of fire by an insurance of Rs. 20,000 at the Commercial Union Assurance Co. Ltd.

A Building for the Institute.—Further attempts were made by Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi during the year under report to secure a ready-made building for the use of the Institute or to purchase a piece of land for a new building to be built thereon. But these attempts were unfortunately not successful for various reasons.

The Executive Committee however express their deep thanks to Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi for all the pains he took in this matter and for the intense zeal he evinced in his attempts to collect funds for the building.

Manuscripts repaired.—During the year of the report, 52 Mss. of the Library were repaired and bound at a cost of Rs. 141-8-0.

Inventory of Books.—The Executive Committee asked the Librarian to take stocks of the books of the Library. As several books were found to be missing, the Executive Committee appointed a sub-committee of Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji and Ervad B. N. Dhabhar to go into the matter and to submit their report with suggestions.

Insurance.—The total insurance of the books, Mss., etc., the furniture and dead-stock was effected with the Commercial Union Assurance Co., Ltd. for Rs. 15,000.

Presentation of a gold coin.—Mr. Darabshah Framji Sethna of Karachi had sent a gold coin to Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi with a letter, requesting him to keep it in a Parsi Museum. Dr. Sir Jivanji presented the coin to this Institute, which would, if deemed proper, present it to any Parsee Museum that might come into existence later on. The gold coin has been found to be of the Sasanian king, Behram II. The Committee accepted the gift with many thanks.

Donations.—The Executive Committee accepted with thanks the following donations received during the year under report:—

One piece 3½ Government Promissory Note presented by Bai Bhikhaiji Rustom Cama in memory of her mother-in-law Bai Awabai Dossabhoy

Cama (the first wife of the late Mr. K. R. Cama) of the face value of	Rs. 500
The children and sister of the late Bai Aimai K. R. Cama in memory of the 35th anniversary of her passing away (for the Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund).	100
A Zoroastrian as thanksgiving for God's mercy	25
In grateful memory of late Mr. Sorabji B. Bhabha	25
In grateful memory of my father's 59th anniversary	5

The best thanks of the Executive Committee are due to the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet Funds and Properties for kindly subscribing for 50 copies of each of the Publications Nos. 4 and 5, and to Sir Hormusji Cowasjee Dinshah, Kt., M.V.O., O.B.E., and the President and Members of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute for buying 25 and 15 copies respectively of Publication No. 7 (Iranian National Epic).

Books and Journals presented.—The Executive Committee convey their best thanks to the Institutions and private individuals, who have kindly presented books, journals, reports, etc., to the Institute as under :—

BOOKS PRESENTED.

Histoire de l'extreme Orient, Parts I and II, by Rene Grousset (presented by Musée Guimet).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Tanjore Library, Vols. I, II and III, by P. P. S. Sastri (presented by the Madras Government).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Tamil Mss. in the Tanjore Library, Vols. I, II and III, by Pandit L. Olaganatha Pillay (presented by the Madras Government).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Marathi Mss. and Books in the Tanjore Library, Vol. I, Vargas 1, 2 and 3, by Sri Ramdasi R. B. Goswami (presented by the Madras Government).

The Alankara Manihara, Part IV, by Sri K. B. Parakalaswamin (presented by the Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore).

Source Book of Maratha History, Vol. I (presented by the Bombay Government).

The Samnyasa Upanishads with the Commentary of Sri Upanishad Brahma Yogin by T. R. Dixit (presented by the Adyar Library, Madras).

The Persian Religion according to the Chief Greek Texts by Emile Benveniste (presented by Paul Geuthner).

Translation of Siddhanta Bindu by P. M. Modi, B.A. (presented by the author).

The Composition of the Gathas by Priyaranjan Sen (presented by the author).

Les Maitres de la Philologie Vedique by Louis Renou (presented by Musée Guimet).

The Edict of Asoka at Sopara near Bombay by R. B. Paymaster (presented by the author).

The Doctrine of the Gathas by Priyaranjan Sen (presented by the author).

Baha 'U' Llah and the New Era by J. E. Esslemont (presented by Bahai's Spiritual Assembly).

Brahmanska Moudrost by Arnost Czech Czechenherz (presented by Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

The Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy by Mary Carpenter (presented by Mr. C. M. Cursetji).

A Petition in Persian Verse addressed to Emperor Jahangir by Dastur Kekobad Mahyar of Naosari by Dr. J. J. Modi (presented by the author).

Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 4, by N. B. Utgikar (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

Tibetische National Grammatik, Teil 1, by Johannes Schubert.

The following books were presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi :—

Ms. (Gujarati) containing (a) a few prayers with meaning; (b) karime with meaning and (c) Shiaposh Kisseh.

A copy of the Will of the grandsons of late Dastur Meherjirana (Guj.)

Description of 21 nasks extracted from a Ms. of Dinik Vajarkard in Dastur Noshirwan's Library, Poona.

Ms. (Guj.) Ijashne with ceremony.

Ms. (Guj.) Virafnamoo (illustrated).

Ms. (Avesta Pahlavi) Khurdeh Avesta (Avesta Text with Pahlavi translation).

Ms. (Guj.) Jamaspi.

Ms. (Persian) Ketab-i-Minookherat.

Dastan Sarae Andalib.

Dabestan.

Ms. Avesta Vendidad (1023 Y.Z.)

Bundahishn, Patet and Nam Setayashna.

Mona-Khoda Glossary (with a Persian poem).

Saddar Ketab (Persian).

Gujarati Rivayat.

Afrin-i-Rapithwin (Pazend).

Dadar bin Dadokht, the beginning portion of the
Irani Wedding Ceremony, Patet, etc.

Sanskrit Ashirvad.

Genealogy of the Modi family—a few stray pieces
of Ms.

Asiatic Papers, Part IV, by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji
Modi (presented by the author).

Journal of the Department of Letters by Calcutta
University Press (presented by the Calcutta University
Press).

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts
in the Tanjore Library, Vols. IV to IX, by P. P. S. Sastri
(presented by the Madras Government).

Catalogue of Valuable Oriental Mss. and Miniatures
(presented by the Educational Commissioner to the Gov-
ernment of India, Delhi).

Trois Conférences sur l'Arménie by Musée Guimet
(presented by the publisher).

Problème des Centaures étude de Méthylogie Com-
parée Indo-Européenne by Musée Guimet (presented by
the publisher).

*Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series: No. LV: Tarka
Samgraha of Annambhatta by Mr. Y. V. Athalye, M.A.,
LL.B. (presented by the Department of Public Instruc-
tion, Bombay).

A Paper on the Foreign Connection of Buddha by
Sree A. M. Vidyasekhara (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

પ્રતિ દીની સમગ્ર પંચાંગ ચક્રવર્તી સને ૧૧૬૬ થી ૧૩૦૦ સુધીનું
(presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Christianisme et Mazdeisme chez les Turks-Orientaux by E. Blochet (presented by the author).

Journal of the Department of Letters, Vol. XX (presented by the Calcutta University).

History of Dharmasastra (being the Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 6) by P. V. Kane (presented by the Director of Public Instruction, Poona).

La Pensée de Rabindranath Tagore by Sushil Chandra Mitter (presented by the Editor, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris).

Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis, Tomi I, Pars VII, Codices Zendicos Complectens by Christian Bartholomae.

Les Fleurs de Rhétorique dans l'Inde by H. R. Diwekar (presented by the Editor, Adrien Maisonneuve, Paris).

Imperial Library Catalogue, Part II, Subject-Index to the Author Catalogue, First Supplement (presented by the Government of India, Calcutta).

Racial Intermarriages : Their Scientific Aspect by J. J. Vimadalal and others (presented by Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran by Ernst Herzfeld, Band I, Heft I, II and III and Band II, Heft 1, 2, 3 and 4 (presented by the author).

Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris-Gebiet Friedrich Sarre, Vols. II and IV, by Ernst Herzfeld (presented by the author).

JOURNALS PRESENTED.

The Asiatic Quarterly Review, Vol. XXVI, Nos. 84 and 85, October 1929 and January 1930.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. X, Parts III-IV ; Vol. XI, Parts I, II ; Vol. XII, Part I.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research, Vol. XIII, Nos. 3, 4, July, October 1929; Vol. XIV, No. 1, January 1930.

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XX, No. 2 (October 1929), Nos. 3, 4 (January, April 1930); Vol. XXI, Nos. 1, 2 (July, October 1930).

Gottingische Gelehrte Anzeigen, Nos. 10, 11 and 12, (October, November and December 1929); Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 (January, February, March, April, May, June, July, August and September 1930).

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Gottingen, Heft 1, 2 and 3, 1929; Heft 1 and 2, 1930.

Bulletin of the Iran League, August to December 1929 and January to July 1930.

The Exploits of King Kampila and Kuara Ramana-tha; Supplement to "The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society", October 1929.

Journal Asiatique Recueil de Memoires et de Notices, Tome CCXII, No. 2 (April-June, 1928), Tome CCXIII, No. 3 (October-December 1928), Tome CCXIV, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 (January, April, July and October 1929).

Numismatic Supplement No. XLI, December 1929.

The Humanist, Vol. II, Nos. 9, 10, 11 and 12 (February-May 1930); Vol. III, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 (June-December 1930 and January 1931).

Bharata Itihasa Sanshodhaka Mandala, Quarterly, Vol. X, Nos. 3-4, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-2.

British Mazdaznan Magazine, Vol. V, Nos. 10, 11 and 12 (June-August 1929); Vol. VI, Nos. 1-12 (September 1929 to August 1930) and Vol. VII, No. 1 (September 1930).

The Aryan Path, Vol. I, No. 1, January 1930.

Rahe Zarathushtra, Vol. X, No. 4, Vol. XI, Nos. 1-4, and Vol. XII, Nos. 1-4.

Social Life in Ancient India: Studies in Vatsyana's Kamasutra.

Greater India Society Publication No. 3.

Asiatica, Vol. II, No. 3, (July-September) and No. 4 (October-December) 1929.

Journal of the Telugu Academy (four numbers).

Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Vol. I, Part I, by T. N. Ramachandra, M.A.

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XV, Parts III and IV, 1929; Vol. XVI, Parts I and II.

The Madras Christian College Magazine, Vol. X, No. 2, April 1930.

Review of Philosophy and Religion being the Journal of the Academy of Philosophy and Religion, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1930.

An Educational Museum at Calcutta.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 49, No. 4, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-3 (March, June and September).

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXV, No. 1, 1929.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Vol. IV, Parts 1-4 (July, October 1929, January and April 1930); Vol. V, No. 1 (July 1930).

Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni, Vol. V, 1929.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Band 9, Heft I, 1930.

Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Nos. 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 36, 39, 41 and 44 (presented by Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi).

Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Parts I and II, by A. H. Francke, Ph.D. (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Loan Exhibition of Antiquities Coronation Durbar, published by the Archaeological Survey of India (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the years 1924-25 and 1925-26 (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Presidential Address, Tenth Indian Science Congress (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Burma (presented by Dr. Sir J. J. Modi).

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. V, Part IV, 1930.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI, No. 2, June 1930.

Index to the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department for the years 1906-1922.

BOOKS PURCHASED.

The following books, etc., were purchased during the year of the report :—

A History of Ancient Persia, by R. W. Rogers.

The Sumerians, by C. Leonard Woolley.

Arabic-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt, S. Spiro Bey.

Elias's Modern Dictionary, English-Arabic, by Elias A. Elias.

Elias's Modern Dictionary, Arabic-English, by Elias A. Elias.

Thatcher Arabic Grammar with a key, by V. Thatcher.

Thomas Herbert Travels in Persia, 1627-1629, by Sir William Foster.

Arabic-English Dictionary, by Revd. J. G. Hava.

Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi : Texte und Index der Pehlevi Worter, by H. S. Nyberg.

Ideas and Ideals in Ancient Persia by Jehangir B. Sanjana, B.A.

Airan Nameh (Persian).

The Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achæmenides found at Susa, by Dr. J. M. Unvala, B.A., Ph.D.

Dr. Modi Memorial Volume, by Dr. Modi Editorial Board (3 copies).

A Multani Manuscript.

A Manuscript of Farokhshi in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Farvardin Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Behram Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Aban Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Farvardin Yasht in Avesta characters.

A Manuscript of Afrain of Six Gahambars in Avesta characters.

Trustees:—Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D. (1914); Sorabji E. Warden, Esq. (1914); Kazi Kabiruddin, Esq., Bar-at-Law (1914); Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Solicitor) (1916); Dewan Bahadur Krishnalal M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B. (1916); R. P. Masani, Esq., M.A. (1916); and Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim, III Bart. (1928).

*Executive Committee :—**President :—*M. P. Khareghat, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.)*Vice-Presidents :—*

(1) Shams-ul Ulama Dastur Dr. Darab Peshotan Sanjana, B.A., Ph.D.

(2) Sorabji E. Warden, Esq.

*Members :—*Shams-ul Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, Kt., C.I.E., B.A., Ph.D.; Rustam K. R. Cama, Esq., B.A., LL.B. (Solicitor); Miss Serene M. Cursetji; Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.; Revd. Fr. Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Ph.D.; R. F. Gorevala, Esq., M.A.; Kaikhushru H. Cama, Esq.; B. N. Dhabhar, Esq., M.A.; P. K. Motivala, Esq., M.A., LL.B.; Prof. N. D. Minocherhomji, B.A.; Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A.

Joint Honorary Secretaries :—

(1) Behramgore T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A.

(2) S. K. Hodivala, Esq., B.A.

New Life Members.—Noshirwan Rustam Modi, Esq., and Jehangir Bhikhaji Dalal, Esq.

New Annual Members.—Bomonshah Sorabji E. Desai, Esq., Capt. Sohrab Rustomji Bamji, Munchershaw Furdunji Mulla, Esq., M.A., B.Sc., and Furdunji Maneckji Pavri, Esq., B.A.

Death of Members.—The Committee deeply regret to put on record the deaths of the following members during the year under report :—

Bai Ruttonbai Edalji Bamji; Khurshedji Dhunjibhoy Shroff, Esq. (Solicitor); Hormusji Shapurji Seervai, Esq.; Framji Rustomji Wadia, Esq.; Dossabhoy Merwanji Billimoria, Esq.; Sardar Khan Bahadur Adarji Mancherji Dalal, M.A., LL.B.; and Ervad Hormusji Tehmulji Dadachanji.

Publications of the Institute.

Journals :—Nos. 1-11, each Rs. 2; No. 12, Rs. 4-8; Nos. 13-14, each Rs. 2; No. 15, Rs. 3; Nos. 16-17, each Rs. 2.

Publication No. 1: "Parsi History", by Prof. S. H. Hodivala, M.A. Re. 1-8.

" 2: "Indo-Iranian Philology: A Study of Semantic Etymology", by Prof. Ernst P. Horowitz. Re. 1.

" 3: "The Gathas", translated and summarised by K. E. Punegar, B.A. Cloth bound Re. 1-8; Paper bound, Re. 1.

" 4: "Passages in Greek and Latin Literature relating to Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism", translated into English by President W. Sherwood Fox, Ph.D., D.Litt., F.R.S.C., and Prof. R. E. K. Pemberton, M.A. Rs. 2.

" 5: "The Foundations of the Iranian Religions" (Ratanbai Katrak's Lectures delivered at Oxford), by Prof. Louis H. Gray, M.A., Ph.D. Rs. 3.

" 6: "The Naosari Navar and Nirangdin Fahrest" (in Gujarati), in 2 volumes, by Ervad Mahyar Nowroji Kutar. Rs. 8.

" 7: Nöldeke's "The Iranian National Epic" or the Shah-nameh, translated into English by L. Bogdanov, Esq. Rs. 2.

THE K. R. CAMA
Balance Sheet as on

LIABILITIES.				Rs.	a.	p.
General Fund	...	...	...	2,02,041	5	11
Fellowship Fund	...	...	...	30,531	12	5
Dr. E. J. Khory Fund	...	...	...	14,529	8	0
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	5,994	10	8
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund	...	...	...	3,941	2	9
Surat Parsi History Fund	...	...	...	3,156	15	6
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund	...	...	...	1,710	4	0
T. R. N. Cama Fund	...	...	...	6,561	13	0
Revayet Publication Fund	...	...	...	4,303	10	6
Pehlavi Vendidad Translation Fund	...	...	...	655	4	4
Maneckji Limji Hateria Library Fund	...	...	...	4,005	2	0
Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi Fund	...	...	...	1,370	14	0
Total				2,78,802	7	1

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

31st December 1930.

ASSETS.				Rs. a. p.	
Cash with Imperial Bank of India (Rs. 19,948-3-3):—					
Bai Aimai K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	1,288	4	9
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund Account	...	...	1,167	2	8
All other Accounts	...	...	17,492	11	10
Securities—(With the Imperial Bank of India as per Safe Custody Receipt):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 78,700	...	...	63,306	15	0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500	...	...	500	0	0
6 per cent Ten Year Bonds of Rs. 74,300	...	...	74,450	0	10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds Rs. 500	...	...	500	0	0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of Rs. 1,17,800	...	...	1,18,088	12	0
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	2,008	8	0
Total			...	2,78,802	7 1

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAVAR & Co.,
 Incorporated Accountants (London),
 Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 11th June 1931.

THE K. R. CAMA ACCOUNT

Account of the General Fund for the

CREDIT.				Rs.	a.	p.
BALANCE ON 1ST JANUARY 1930 (Rs. 1,98,929-14-5):—						
Cash with Bank ...	...	...	...	8,858	2	3
Securities ...	...	...	...	1,87,957	8	10
Furniture and Fixtures ...	...	...	...	2,114	3	4
CASH CREDITS (Rs. 11,216-6-6):—						
Life and Annual Membership subscription ...				830	0	0
Donations (including 3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of Rs. 500 face value and Rs. 55 cash) ...				555	0	0
Interest on Investments ...				8,256	7	0
Income transferred from Dr. E. J. Khory's Account ...				861	12	0
Sundry receipts (including sale-proceeds of books, journals, etc.) ...				713	3	6
ADMINISTRATION CHARGES recovered from:—						
Sarosh K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	18	13	10
Bai Aimal K. R. Cama Fund ...	...	...	...	8	11	0
K. R. Cama Anniversary Fund ...	...	...	...	6	4	0
The Fellowship Fund ...	...	...	...	125	11	0
The Mulla Feroze Library ...	...	...	...	660	0	0
Total Rs.				2,10,965	12	9

KAIKHASRU HORMUSJEE CAMA,
Honorary Treasurer.

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

No. 1.

year ending 31st December 1930.

DEBIT.				Rs. a. p.	
CASH DEBITS (Rs. 8,818-11-6):—					
Salaries and Wages	...	...	...	4,065	0 0
Rent	...	...	...	3,300	0 0
Books and Periodicals	...	...	...	905	6 0
Stationery and Printing	...	...	...	142	5 0
Postage and Stamps	...	...	...	102	9 0
Insurance	...	...	...	65	10 0
Other General Charges	...	...	...	237	13 6
OTHER DEBITS:—					
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures	...			105	11 4
BALANCE ON 31ST DECEMBER 1930 (Rs. 2,02,041-5-11):—					
3½ per cent Government Promissory Notes of the face value of	Rs. 60,300			47,518	12 0
5 per cent Government Promissory Notes of 1945-55 of the face value of	„ 500			500	0 0
6 per cent Government Promissory Bonds (1931) of the face value of	„ 24,000			24,150	0 10
4 per cent Improvement Trust Bonds of the face value of	„ 500			500	0 0
4 per cent Bombay Port Trust Bonds of the face value of	„ 1,15,500			1,15,788	12 0
Cash with Bank	...	...	...	11,575	5 1
Furniture and Fixtures	...	...	...	2,008	8 0
Total Rs.				2,10,965	12 9

Examined and found correct.

NAVROZ A. DAYAR & Co.,
Incorporated Accountants (London),
Honorary Auditors.

Bombay, 11th June 1931.

No.

FELLOWSHIP

Dr.

					Rs. a. p.
	Publication charges	...	...		1,300 11 6
	Administration charges	...	...		125 11 0
	Balance on 31-12-30:—				
	Bonds	...	30,000	0 0	
	Cash	...	531	12 5	
					30,531 12 5
					31,958 2 11

No.

DR. E. J. KHORY

Dr.

					Rs. a. p.
	Interest amount transferred to General Fund	...	...	...	861 12 0
	Balance as per contra	...	...		14,529 8 0
					15,391 4 0

No.

SAROSH K. R. CAMA

Dr.

					Rs. a. p.
	Stamp on Balance Certificate	...			0 1 0
	Administration charges	...			18 13 10
	Balance 31st Dec. 1930:—				
	B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0 0	
	6 per cent War Bonds	...	3,700	0 0	
	3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F. V. 200)	...	127	8 0	
	Cash	...	1,167	2 8	
					5,994 10 8
					6,013 9 6

2.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—						
Bonds	...	30,000	0 0			
Cash	...	124	15 2	30,124	15	2
Interest	...	...	...	1,333	3	9
				31,958	2	11

3.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—						
6 per cent Bonds	...	14,400	0 0			
Cash	...	129	8 0	14,529	8	0
Interest	...	...	...	861	12	0
				15,391	4	0

4.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—						
B. Port Trust Bonds	...	1,000	0 0			
6 per cent War	...	3,700	0 0			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...	127	8 0			
(F.V. 200)	...	918	11 6	5,746	3	6
Cash	...	...	...	267	6	0
Interest	...	...	...	6,013	9	6

No.

BAI AIMAI K. R. CAMA

Dr.

						Rs.	a.	p.
Stamp on Balance Certificate	...	...				0	1	0
Administration charges	...	...				8	11	0
Balance on 31-12-30								
4 p.c. B.P.T. Bonds	...	1,300	0	0				
6 p.c. War	...	700	0	0				
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes	...	652	14	0				
Cash	...	1,288	4	9				
						3,941	2	9
						3,949	14	9

No.

SURAT PARSII HISTORY

Dr.

						Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930:—								
3½ p.c. G. P. Notes (F. V.								
3,700)	...	2,379	9	0				
Cash	...	777	6	6				
						3,156	15	6
						3,156	15	6

No.

K. R. CAMA ANNIVERSARY

Dr.

						Rs.	a.	p.
Anniversary Celebration expenses	...					40	6	0
Administration charges	...					6	4	0
Balance on 31-12-30:—								
War Bonds	...	1,500	0	0				
Cash	...	210	4	0				
						1,710	4	0
						1,756	14	0

5.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—				
4 per cent B. P. T. Bonds...	1,300	0	0	
6 per cent War Bonds ...	700	0	0	
3½ per cent G.P. Notes (Face Value Rs. 900) ...	652	14	0	
Cash ...	1,074	8	0	
		3,727	6	9
Donation received ...	...	100	0	0
Interest on Securities ...	...	122	8	0
		3,949	14	9

6.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—				
3½ per cent G. P. Notes (F.V. Rs. 3,700) ...	2,379	9	0	
Cash ...	648	6	6	
		3,027	15	6
Interest ...	...	129	0	0
		3,156	15	6

7.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

		Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—				
War Bonds ...	1,500	0	0	
Cash ...	167	2	0	
		1,667	2	0
Interest ...	...	89	12	0
		1,756	14	0

No.

T. R. N. CAMA

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930:—			
3½ per cent G. P. Notes	...	...	5,000 0
Cash	...	...	1,561 13 0
			<hr/> 6,561 13 0

No.

REVAYET PUBLICATION

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930:—			
Securities as per contra	...	...	3,628 4 0
Cash	...	...	675 6 6
			<hr/> 4,303 10 6

No.

PAHLAVI VENDIDAD

Dr.

			Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st Dec. 1930:—			
Cash	...	...	655 4 4
			<hr/> 655 4 4

8.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—							
3½ per cent G. P. Notes...	5,000	0	0				
Cash	1,387	3	0		6,387	3	0
Interest					174	10	0
					6,561	13	0

9.

FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930:—							
3½ per cent G. P. Notes							
(Face Value Rs. 4,600)...	3,628	4	0				
Cash	515	2	6		4,143	6	6
Interest					160	4	0
					4,303	10	6

10.

TRANSLATION FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

					Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 1st Jan. 1930	...	...			655	4	4
					655	4	4

No.

MANECKJI LIMJI HATERIA

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on 31-12-1930:—						
G. P. Notes	...	...	...	4,000	0	0
Cash	...	...	...	5	2	0
				4,005	2	0

No.

DR. SIR J. J. MODI

Dr.

				Rs.	a.	p.
Cards and Stamps	...	...	...	18	2	0
Balance on 31-12-1930	...	...	...	1,370	14	0
				1,389	0	0

11.

LIBRARY FUND ACCOUNT.

Cr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
	3½ per cent Government Notes received				
	during the year	...	4,000	0	0
Cash	...	...	5	2	0
			4,005	2	0

12.

APPRECIATION FUND ACCOUNT:

Cr.

			Rs.	a.	p.
	Donation received	...	1,389	0	0
			1,389	0	0